A B U L   F A D L

His life and works.

***

A thesis submitted to the
University of the Panjab
for the award of the degree
of Ph.D.

***

By

Zahuruddin Ahmad.

***

TRANSLITERATION

'a	=	ا	sh	=	ش	bh	=	بھ
b	=	ب	ṣ	=	ص	ṭh	=	ٹھ
p	=	پ	ḍ	=	ض	th	=	تھ
t	=	ت	ṭ	=	ط	jh	=	جھ
ṭ	=	ٹ	ẓ	=	ظ	ch	=	چھ
th	=	ث	'a 'i	=	ع	ŋ	=	ں
j	=	ج	gh	=	غ	a	=	َ زبر
ch	=	چ	f	=	ف	i	=	زیر
ḥ	=	ح	q	=	ق	u	=	پیش
kh	=	خ	k	=	ک	ā	=	آ
d	=	د	g	=	گ	ī	=	ای
ḍ	=	ڈ	l	=	ل	ū	=	او
dh	=	ذ	m	=	م	ay	=	اے
r	=	ر	n	=	ن	ai	=	اَے
ṛ	=	ڑ	w v	=	و	aw	=	اَو
z	=	ز	h	=	ہ	kh	=	کھ
zh	=	ژ	y	=	ی	dh	=	دھ
s	=	س	'a 'i	=	ء			

*****

Registrar

7-9-1955

ABBREVIATIONS

A.N.	Akbarnāma.
'ĀIN	'Āīn-i-Akbarī.
D.E.B.A.	Dictionaire Encyclopedique de Bibliographie Arabe.
E & D	History of India as told by its own historians by J.M. Eliot and John Dowson.
J.I.H.	Journal of Indian History.
Muntakhab.	Muntakhabut Tawārikh by Abdul Qādir Badāyūnī.
Mukātabāt.	Mukātabāt-i-'Allāmī by Abul Faḍl.
N.K.Ed.	Nawal Kishore Edition, Lucknow.
O.U.P.	Oxford University Press.
P.P.L.	Panjab Public Library.
P.U.L.	Panjab University Library.
R.A.S.B.	Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
R.A.S.J.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Ruq 'āt.	Ruq 'āt-i-Abul Faḍl.
Tn-	Translation.
f.n.	Footnsote.

*****

Abul Fadl, his life & Works.

Contents:-

Chapter VII. Abul Fadl as a Soldier.

1. Expedition against Ahmadnagar.

2. Conquest of Maligarh and Asirgarh - Capture of Maligarh - Capture of Asir- Du Jarric's version of Asir's capture - Smith's conclusions about the fall of Asir - Payne's criticism - Farishta's account of the fall of Asirgarh - Pestilence as one of the causes of the fall of Asirgarh.

3. Campaign against Raju.

4. Campaign against Shah Ali's son.

Chapter VIII. Abul Faḍl's assassination:

1. Abul Fadl's Recall from Deccan.
2. His relations with Prince Saleem.
3. The Tragedy - Kesho Das's version - Details of the last day by Asad Beg - The place and date of death - Reactions on his death.

Chapter IX Abul Faḍl as a Man.
Philanthropist - Moralist - His forgiving nature - conscientious - His Curious ways - His love of family.

Chapter X. Abul Faḍl a man of letters.
1. Versatility of his genious - Prose writer - Letter writer - Historian - Poet - Lover of Fine Arts and a critic.
2. His works - Historical and critical reviews :
   i) Akbarnāmah - Contents - Takmilah - its merits - its shortcomings - scope of the subject - style.

   ii) 'Āīn-i-Akbarī - Purpose and scope - Contents - Originality, Jarret's criticism - 'Āīn and Indica compared - style.

   iii) Mukātabāt-i-'Allāmī - Vol I, contents - Characteristics-style.

   Vol II - Contents and general features - style

   Vol III - Contents - Abul Faḍl's personality - His Sufic tendencies - His studious habits - Critical appreciation - His artistic tastes - style.

   iv) Ruqa'āt-i-Abul Fadl.
   Contents and general features - spuriousness of ten letters - Criticism of letters - Letter to Akbar - Letter to Prince Daniyāl - Letter to Prince Murād, Letter to Prince Salīm - style.

   v) 'Iyār-i-Dānish - Origin - Translations - Abul Fadl's version - its theme - general features and style.

   vi) Gita - Two versions - theme - origin - Modern version.

vii) Majmū'ullughāt.

viii) Introduction to the Mahabhārta - summary - contents of the book - Translations.

ix) Tutināmah - Various versions - Persian Translations - Story.

x) Bible.

xi) Munājāt.

Bibliography.

oooo0oooo

CHAPTER I

A. Political Situation.

Indian Empire (1)

The Muslim Empire in India before the Moghals had generally and aptly been termed as the Sultanate of Delhi. India as a whole was never under the full sway of the Muslims. At times the Tughlaqs had their sway upto the Deccan and Bengal. But as soon as these far-flung provinces felt the weakness of the centre they revolted and declared themselves independent. There were natural forces which helped the Deccanis to withdraw themselves from the hold of Delhi centre. The province of the Deccan was situated at a distance of 700 to 800 miles from Delhi. The limited means of transport available in those days rendered the supremacy of Delhi ineffectual. The roads to the Deccan were rough and passed across mountains and rivers. The foreign invaders had to face the hostility of both the Hindus and the Muslims because the Muslims of Southern India had no political relationship with Muslims of the North. The Abbysinians who had settled in this country served in the Armies of Hindu states. In 1347 A. D. Hasan 'Ala'uddin Zafar Khan rebelled against Mohammad Tughluq and established an independent Bahmani Kingdom (1347-1526 A.D.) at Gulbarg (2).

Bengal had been the battle ground of many dynasties till 1202 A.D. when its first Muslim governor Muhammad Bakhtiār Khalji was appointed. Humāyūn conqured it in 944 A.H. (1537 A.D.) and lost it again to Sher Shāh in 946 A.H.(1539 A. D.) At the succession of Akbar to the throne Muḥammad Sūr dynasty (960-971 A.H. = 1552-1563 A. D.) ruled the province.

The Delhi Empire consisted of the North West Provinces, Western Bihar, the Punjab, some districts of Central Provinces and Rajputana. Humāyūn's dominion extended from Bhīra, East of Jhelum to Bihār, comprising the Punjab, Multān and the country

1. Elphistone, History of India, p.474, 478-482.
2. Yūsuf 'Alī, A., Making of India, p.82-83.

lying between the river Satluj and the Eestern boundry of Bihār. In the South it extended upto the line touching Bayāna, Ranthembhor, Gwālior and Chāndīrī. One fifth of this territory was held by Rājahs or big landlords who paid tribute to the Moghal Emperor. The remaining four-fifth was directly administered by the nominees of the Emperor. (1).

The vast country of Orrissa extending from the delta of the Ganges to the delta of Godāwri always remained independent. It covered over a distance of 500 miles in length and from 300 to 400 miles in breadth. In the West Gujrāt was an independent State under the Afghān ruler Bahādur Shah (1525-1536 A. D.) Humāyūn attacked and defeated him in 1534 A.D. But as soon as Humayun was turned out of the country, Gujrat again became independent. The ruler then annexed Malwa and most of the country now known as Central Provinces. At the time of Akbar's accession to the throne Ahmad Shāh II (1553-1572 A.D.) ruled in Gujrāt.

Rājputana States continued to maintain their subsidiary independence under the Mughal paramountcy. Raja Bihāryā of Jaipur submitted to Bābur and even gave effective military assistance. Humāyūn later awarded him the title of Rāja Amber (2). Jodhpur, another state of military importance under its ruler Māldeo, had proved hostile to Sher Khān's ambitions. And when Humāyūn fled for then safety of his life, Māldeo did not care to provide him any shelter. He even obstructed his way and harrased Humānyūn's companions but later his troops suffered a defeat and retreated to their stronghold. Mewar had been friendly to Sher Shāh but soon after his death reestablished its own soverainty. Jaisalmīr and Bīkānīr, the desert states, were also independent. Sind, Mewāt and Bhāghil Khand, also like Rājputāna States, tried to

1. Provincial Government of the Mughals, p.47.

2. Humāyūn nāmeh, p.55.

maintain their freedom at all costs. Gwālior, Orcha, Chandīrī, Mārwāṛ and other small states situated near Agra were repeatedly attacked by Bābur and Sher Shāh. Whenever they realised the supremacy of the Emperor they paid tribute, and would not fail to throw off the yoke when a weaker inefficient ruler came to the throne. The states in the Central India situated amidst hills and forests had natural defences and as such they were never completely conqured.

Besides the area covered by the Mughal Empire, there were no less than five Muslim States in the Deccan. The 'Ādil Shāhi Kingdom of Bījapur, the Qutab Shāhi Kingdom of Golcunda, the Nizām Shāhi dynasty of Aḥmad Nagar, the 'Imādshāhī dynasty of Barār and the Barīd Shāhi dynasty of Bīdar. (1)

EMPEROR.

The Muslim ruler was bound to rule according to the law of the Qur'an, the traditions of the Prophet and the decisions of the celeberated jurists (2) Theoretically the king was recognised as the supreme interpretor of Islamic law but he could not disregard the considered opinion of the religious lawyers on a certain subject. He generally abided by the decisions of the majority. (3) If he acted against the law he was to be dethroned by the verdict of the doctors of the religious law and refused obedience. (4) By law the office of the sovereign was elective but traditionally he nominated his successor from his own family. The nobles of the most influential theologians agreed upon the candidate and proclaimed him the king. (5)

The king at Delhi used to recognize the Caliph at Baghdād as the supreme head of the commonwealth of Islamic countries. At the downfall of 'Abbāside Dynasty at the hands of Hulāgu Khān in 1258 A.D. their allegiance shifted to an

---

1. Mediaeval India, p.396
2. Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi, p.41; Moghal kingship and nobility, p. 151-155.
3. Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi, p.41-42.
4. Ibid, p.48,
5. Ibid, p.52.

ʻAbbāside refugee Al Mustakfi billah who was elevated to the dignity of a Caliph in Egypt in 1261 A.D. In 1517 A.D. the ʻAbbāsid Caliphate ended and Uthmān ʻAlī Turks claimed themselves as Caliphs. Under the Timurids the concept of an indivisible Muslim commenwealth died. An idea that every king was an independent caliph in his own Empire gained ground. The word caliph lost its original significance. The monarch was no longer a representative of the supreme sovereign of the Muslim world. So at Humānyūn's restoration the question of allegiance to the caliph did not arise. (1)

Neither Bābur nor Humāyun had changed the system of government evolved by their predecessors. (2) Bābur was the supreme lord. The governors, the vassals and the Jāgirdars were under his direct command and could be removed at his pleasure. The sovereign could only be removed by a successful revolution. A capable and just ruler could maintain his kingdom effectively. As soon as the sovereign or the centre showed signs of weakness, the governors of the provinces, and the feudatory chiefs became independent and the whole structure of a compact government collapsed. The king was not secure against his ministers and nobles. Many a time provincial governors and military chiefs stepped into the shoes of their masters and became the founders of new dynasties. (3)

The government was set up and strengthened with the aid of the army and could be overthrown by a greater force quite like Humāyūn who was overthrown by Sher Shāh. In India as the Muslim rulers were considered as foreigners and strangers, so every conceivable opportunity was gladly embraced to harm a Muslim ruler or upset the political balance of power.

ARMY

Every province under the king had a local army. The

1. Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi, p.32-38; Mughal Kingship and nobility, p.155-159.
2. Provincial Government of the Mughals, p.48-49.
3. Central Structure of Mughal Empire, p.349.

Governors and the Jagirdars were obliged to maintain a contingent of horsemen according to their status or jagir(1) Besides this there was an Imperial Army. A suitable number of soldiers were posted in the province under the governo This contigent was paid out of the Royal treasury. A portio of the troops received horses, uniform,and equipment from the king. Most of the soldiers brought their own horses and equipment and were recruited in the army alongwith their officers and commanders in groups.(2)

During the time of disturbances the Imperial Army was sent to reinforce the local forces.If the commander of this Imperial army was equal in rank to the governor he was directly under the king. At times, the king issued orders to the provinces for the supply of the recruited soldiers.The governor of the province used to get assistance from the landlords of his province in this respect.(3)

The Mughal light cavalry was superior to the heavy Indian Infantry. Well fortified small states had to be conquered with all the force at command. The Mughals experienced difficulty in keeping order in the conquered countr and maintaining reinforcements.

Humayun's army was composed of Persians,Turks and Afghāns.These heterogeneous elements,sometimes,by their mutual factions constituted a threat to the Empire.(4)

ADMINISTRATION -LAW AND ORDER. (5)

The judiciary belonged to the Qādīs who were appointed from amongst the religious scholars. The Hanafī Jurisprudence had the supreme ruling authority.Therefore the decisions were pronounced according to the rulings given by the

1. Provincial government of the Mughals, p.253.
2. Army of the Indian Mughals, p.36-37.
3. Elphistone, p.483-84.
4. Provincial government of Mughals, p.256-57.
5. Elphistone, p.482-86; The Mughal Administration by Sarka pp.17,109; Central Structure of Mughal Empire,pp.306-310.

given by the Hanafī jurists. The Qādīs were entrusted with all sorts of cases, civil and criminal. Criminal law was the same for Hindus and Muslims. The land disputes were settled by revenue officials. The governors of the provinces could be approached with any complaint against the officials or highhandedness of any oppressor. In religious matters the king was guided by the ecclesiastical authorities at his court. He personally heard complaints of the public and redressed their grievances. The office of Shaikhul Islām existed. The term was loosely used for the chief Qadi or the chief Sadr.(1) The most learned and the most pious of the scholars was appointed to this office. The king himself obeyed his commands and issued orders for the execution of the heretics according to his advice. The 'Ulamā at the court were the indispenceable advisers on all religious matters. (2)

There were no official ecclesiastical establishments. The mosques founded by individuals were made self-sufficient. Special endowments or land grants were made for the holy men and even for the maintenance of their tombs or for other charitable institutions. A Sadr was appointed in each district to supervise the efficient utilization of these grants. There was a Ṣadrus Ṣudūr i.e. the chief of all Ṣadrs, who heard complaints and appeals against any injustice, malpractice and mismanagement of the funds. He was also a dignitary of the court and wielded great influence.(3)

THE PEOPLE OF INDIA.

The two main nations of India were the Hindus and the Muslims. The Hindus were free to follow their creed

---

1. Sadr. An official incharge of Ecclesiastical Department. He was a connected link between the king and the people; the upholder of Shar' and the spokesman of the Ulamā. He used to keep control over the teaching of all sorts of knowledge in the state. As the most distinguished scholar of Islam and the religious head he exercised a sort of censorship over education, ideas and morals of people. (Ibne Hasan, p.256-57; Wahed Hasan, p.64).

2. Central structure of Mughal Empire, p.256.

3. Ibid, p.258.

and ancestoral customs.(1) Generally they had to pay poll tax and ground rent in case they were vassals. They were given high posts in the administration of the country.(2) The imposts were collected by the Hindu Zamindārs. Some had hereditary jurisdiction under the governor and in time of war they supplied a quota of troops for service.(3)

The Hindus had their own courts where their cases were decided according to Dharma Shāstra., by the learned pandits appointed by the state.(4) In towns and villages the disputes were decided by the Panchāyats which existed from ancient times.(5).

Inter-marriages between Hindus and Muslims were frequent. The Hindus converted to Muslim faith used to live among the people of their family in the same village.(6) Muslims from Persia, Bukhārā and Arabia lost their purity of blood and distinctive racial characteristics. They adopted many Hindu customs, beliefs and even their ways of life.(7) The Buddhists were nearly extinct. The Jains whose creed was almost a variation of Buddhism lived an inconspicuous life. They were scattered all over the country in small numbers but their chief seats of congregation were Mount Abu ,Sirohi, at Satranjya in Gujrat, and Sravana Belgola in Mysore. Parsis i.e. the Zoroastrians who had migrated to India, were domiciled on the west coast especially in Gujrāt. There were also some Jews, Syrians and Armenian Christians settled chiefly on coasts. The Portugese had founded Goa and had occupied several other harbours.

B. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS.

SHI' ISM (8)

Shia means a party or a following. Shi'as were those who

---

1. Foundation of Muslim rule in India, p.298-99.
2. Ibid., p.304.
3. Elphistone, p.483-84.
4 & 5. Central Structure of Mughal Empire, p.309; Provincial Government of the Mughals, p.246-48.
6. L'Inde Mystique, p.151.
7. Mughal administration, p.247.
8. Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, vol.Vi,pp.453-58.

followed the kindred of the Prophet specially 'Ali, the cousin of the Prophet, Fātima, the daughter of the Prophet and their descendents. Later on in history, Shi'as became a political bod They believed 'Ali, as the rightful representative of the Prophet and the religious head (Imām) by Divine Right. The Shi'as claim Imāmat of 'Ali and his house by virtue of the nomination of 'Ali by the Prophet at Khum-i-Ghadīr.(1) They beleive that the Imāms derived light from the Prophet and therefore were sinless, infallible and incorruptible in matters of religion. Some orthodox Shi'as exaggerated and said that the Imāms were incarnate manifestations of God. Shi'as are generally called Imāmiyyah or Ithnā 'Ashriyyah (Twelvers) i.e. the beleivers of twelve Imāms who are as under:-

1. 'Ali (d.40 A.H.-660 A.D.).2. Hasan (3-41 A.H.-624-661 A.D) 3. Husain (4-61 A.H.-625-680 A.D.) 4. 'Ali Zainul 'Abidīn (died 95 A.H.-713 A.D.).5. Muhammad al Bāqir (50-113 A.H.-670-731). 6. Ja'far Sadiq (83-148 A.H.-702-765 A.D.).7.Mūsa ibn Ja'far (128-183 A.H.-745-799 A.D.).8.'Ali ibn Mūsa ar Rida (148-203 A.H -715-818 A.D.).9.Muhammad al Jawād (195-220 A.H.-810-835 A.D.). 10.'Ali Al Hādi (212-252 A.H.-827-866 A.D.).11. Hasan Al 'Askarī (213-260 A.H.-828-874 A.D.).12.Muhammad al Mehdī (disappeared in 878 A.D.).

Shi'as believe in Muta'ah marriage i.e., a contract marriage. A Shia can marry a woman and keep her wedlock for an agreed period. After the expiry of the time the contract lapses automatically. They base their conviction on the following verse of the Qur'an (chapter 4, verse 24)-"And those
فما استمتعتم به منهن فآتوهن اجورهن فريضة .

---

1. Khum-i-Ghadīr. A pond in a valley, on the left of the road from Madina to Mecca, three Arab miles from Juhfa. According to a tradition, the prophet, on his journey back from the farewell pilgrimage, on 18 Dhulhaj, 8 A.H., while adressing a gathering said," من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه " "Ali is his lord whose Lord I am."

of whom you seek content or profit (by marrying them) give them their recompense as a duty". It is reported that Ibn-i-'Abbās, a companion of the Prophet used to recite this verse with the addition of إلى أجلٍ مسمّى after يتمتّن meaning thereby "seek content (by marrying them) upto an agreed time". It is alleged that this verse clearlt provides an authority for the people to marry a woman for a limited period.(1). The Shi'a laws of marriage, divorce and inheritance in all details differ from those of other Muslims. They have compiled their own traditions of the Prophet and have separate laws of jurisprudence.

Shi'as have their separate mosques. The text of the prayers and some movements in the prayer differ from those of the Sunnīs. They have separate gathering centres where they lament the martyrdom of Ḥusian, the son of 'Ali and Fātimah, who was killed in the battle of Karbala in 680 A.D. They celeberate ten days of Muḥarram as mourning days, take out processions carrying the effigy of the tomb of Ḥusian and leading a horse representing the Dhul Janaḥ, the name of the steed of Ḥusain. The obvious cause of the clash and hositility between the Shi'as and the Sunnīs is, that the former use derogatory phrases against the first three caliphs and pronounce them as usurpers of the caliphate.

The conflict between these two sections had gained ground in India also. At the time when Humāyūn came back from Iran,many Indian soldiers, nobles and religious scholars accompanied him. There is no gainsaying the fact that the Iranians played a definite role in the administration of the country, the advancement of culture and propagation of science and arts in India.(2) Shi'ism had been accepted as state religion in Iran.

---

1. Tafsīri-i-Kashshāf by Jārulla Zamakhsharī, vol.I, p.283 (Calcutta edn.);Lubābut tanzil by Khāzin Baghdādī, vol.I, p. 358, Cairo edn.; Tafsīr Durr-i-Manthūr by Jalāluddin Siyuṭī, vol.II, p.140.Cairo edn.

2. Tadhkira Humāyūn and Akbar, p.176-187.

The religious fanaticism of the rulers had severe repercussions in the country and a wave of indignation also passed through other countries where the Sunnis flourished. In India Sunni 'Ulamā were a terror for the Shi'as. Sher Shāh Sūrī was deadly against the Safawīs of Iran and had a plan to fight and conquer them. According to Abdul Qādir Badāyūni, when once Maulānā Rafi'uddīn Safawī, a learned scholar of Āgra(1) asked permission for proceeding to Hijāz for Haj pilgrimage, Sher Shāh said, "I have been keeping you in the country for a definite purpose and it is this. I want to bring the whole of this country under my control. After conquering the few forts which had been left I wish to fight against the Qizilbāsh i.e. Safawīs of Irān. They had been a hindrance to the pilgrims of the holy sanctuary and they have brought in a strange innovation and heresy in the true and streinghtforward Islam. I wish to send you as my agent and ambassador to the Sultan of Turky so that you may arrange a treaty of freindship and fraternity between him and me. Then I shall proceed from this side and the Sultan from the other and both of us united may overthrow the Qizilbāsh. I do not think any other man except you to be the fittest person to carry out this mission and for achievement of this purpose I cannot accord permission to you".(2)

Some historians allege that Humāyūn was converted to Shi'ism(3); while others ~~xxxxx~~ assert that he was given help on the promise that he would propagate Shi'a faith in India.

---

1. Rafi'uddīn Safawī. Belonged to a family distinguished for learning and nobleness. He studied intellectual sciences from Jalāluddīn Dawwāni, famous author of the Akhlāq-i-Jalāli and the Hadīth from Shamsuddīn Muhammad b.

Abdur Rehmān as Sakhāwi, a great traditionist of the age. He Came to India in the reign of Sikandar Lodhi (1488-1517 A.D.) and settled at Agra. Died in 954 A.H. (1547 A.D.) (Akhbārul Akhyār, p.251-52)

2. Muntakhab, vol.I, p.371. 3. Ibid, p.448.

4. Farishta, vol.I, p.237 (N.K.edn.); Elphistone, p.465.

In the reign of Humayun, the Sh'ia officials had played a decisive role in the administration. Bairam Khan, the minister was a Shia but he did not take any active part in the propaganda of Shi'a faith. There were a good number of Shi'as in Northern India and excepting sporadic sectarian wrangles they lived at peace with the Sunnis. Huma-yun had a tolerant attitude towards other religious sects. He acted upon the will of his father who had advised him in the following words:- ترقی اسلام از تیغ احسان است نہ از تیغ ظلم و از مناقشات اہل سنت و شیعہ چشم پوشی کن الا ضعف اسلام موجود است۔

"The progress of Islam can be achieved by the sword of beneficence and not by the sword of tyranny. Avoid dissentions of the Sunnites and the Shi'as because in discord lies the weakness of Islam"(4). At the time when Makhdum ul Mulk (1) was at the helm of religious affairs, the Shi'as suffered at his hands. The Sunni and Shi'a conflict became a troublesome affair for Akbar.

MAHDAVISM (2)

The title Mahdi was first associated with 'Ali son of Muhammad b. Al Hanafiyya, and, apparently given him by the adventurer Mukhtar b. Abi 'Ubaid, who, after the death of Hussain at Karbala, ostentibly championed the claims of this personage to the Khilafat. Mahdi is generally interpreted as Divinely guided. The idea of expected Mahdi is based on fictitious traditions (3) of the Prophet purporting that a man will come, who will deliver the people from injustice and enforce the orthodox doctrines and conduct. In the

traditions it is prophesied

1. Makhdumul Mulk Abdullāh Sultānpurī. He belonged to Anṣār tribe. His ancestors settled at Sultānpur. He was expert in Arabic language, jurisprudence, history and traditions. King Humāyūn awarded him the title of Makhdūm ul Mulk & Shaikhul Islam. He was the head of religious department in the reign of Salīm Shāh Sūrī. He was a staunch orthodox Sunni and was a terror to heretics. He enjoyed the same dignity in the court of Akbar but lost prestige and honour in later years and was sent to Mecca. On his return he died at Gujrāt in 990 A.H.
2. Encyclopaedia of Religious & Ethics, vol. VIII, pp. 336.
3. 'Allāmā Tamannā 'Imādī has critically examined all the traditions i.e. four by Tirmidhī, ten by Abu Dāūd and seven by Ibne Mājah, relating to the advent of Mahdi and has proved their fabrication and concoction. See the Tulū-i-Islam, a monthly periodical, March and May 1954.
4. Will of the Babur, Ms. in the State Library of Bhopal.

that the Mahdi will belong to the prophet's kindred and such will be probable signs at the time of his appearance. The rise of Mahdis from time to time was due to the disorderly state of affairs in Islamic countries and religious frustration of the people.

At the time of Akbar's accession to the throne there was still a Mahdavite Movement among the Muslims in the country. It had started early in the beginning of the 10th century of Hijra. Some people believed that the appearance of Imam Mahdi had become due at the beginning of the century. A learned and forceful orator named Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpur claimed himself to be the promised Mahdi (1) in 910 A.H. (1504 A. D.). Though his claim was denounced and opposed by the orthodox learned Muslims yet some of the famous and influential scholars accepted his conviction and gave their allegiance to him. The Mahdavites at all times were expecting the day of resurrection to be close at hand. They dwelt on the transitoriness of the world and many of them distributed all of their belongings amongst the poor and lived in complete contentment. They were fearless promulgators of religious laws and never cared for the law of the country.

(2) Sheikh 'Alāi, a learned man from Bengal, settled at Biyānā and under the powerful influence of Abdullah Khān Niāzi, accepted the Mahdavi faith. The Shaikh was a forceful speaker; thousands of people accepted this faith through his simple dynamic personality.

Makhdūmul Mulk Abdullah Sulṭānpuri, an influential Mulla at the court of Salīm Shāh Sūri (1545-1552 A.D.) poisoned the ears of the king against Shaikh Alai. He told the king that this man would raise a rebellion against the King, which

1. Badāyūni relates that once he met Miān Abdullah Niāzi in the company of Muhammad Husain Khan, at Sirhind. During the conversation a reference to Mir Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri was made. Miān Abdullāh Niāzi brought an aged Mughul who said that he was present at Farah at the death of the Sayyid. The Sayyid disowned his claim to Mahdavism and further said that he was not the promised Mahdi. (Muntakhab, vol.I,p.405, vol.III, p.46).

The above fact is corroborated by the Ma'athirul'Umarā, vol.I, p.125. It is further added by the author that some of the followers of the Sayyid believed him not the promised Mahdi but only a Mahdi 'meaning' the man who has been divinely guided;

2. Muntakhab, vol.I, p.398.

would be beyond his control. The Shaikh was called up to explain his faith. A number of scholars such as Sayyid Rafi'uddin, Abul Fath Thānisiri (1) and Shaikh Mubārak (Abul Faḍl's father) were appointed as judges. But they could not reach a definite decision. The king was impressed by the Shaikh's sincerity and religous favour but persuaded him to give up his Mahdavite faith which suggestion he refused to accept. He was expelled from the country to Hāndiyā, the frontier town on the Narbada river but there, Bihāri Khān Sarwani, the governor, with many of his troops became his disciple. Makhdumul Mulk was perpetually warning the king of the impending dangers and he had pronounced his decree of capital punishment against him. At last Shaikh 'Alāi was sent to a very learned scholar of Bihar, named Miāṇ Budhe for verification of his beliefs. Mian Budhe wrote to the king that Islam is not based on the belief or dis-belief in Mahdi and there is much difference of opinion in the appearance of the 'Imām so he could not give his verdict on the infidelity of the Shaikh. This letter was intercepted by his two sons owing to the fear of opposition and power of Makhdūmul Mulk. They put in their dubious opinion and left the decision to Makhdūmul Mulk. The king handed over the Shaikh to Makhdūmul Mulk on whose orders he was whipped to death in 957 A.D. (1550 A.D.) Priorto this incident Mian Abdullāh Niāzi had also been severely punished in 955 A.H. (1548 A.D.) (2) The persecution continued far into Akbar's reign. After the return of Humayun from Iran and the ascendancy of Bairam Khān, this oppression abated for a short time owing to their favourable attitude towards Shi'ism. This high-handedness against the Mahdavites and others who did not hold the same

1. Abul Fath Thānisiri. (Jalāluddin). His ancestors hailed from Bukhāra. Born at Thānisar. Being an intelligent boy he learnt the Qur'ān by heart at the age of 7 and completed the courses of study in all branches of theology and became a teacher at 17. One of the chief disciples of saint Abdul Quddūs Gangūhi and well known for his piety and learning. Died in 989 A.H. (Khazīnatul Aṣfiyā, vol.I p.439-40).
2. Muntakhab, vol.I, p.405.

religious views as the orthodox learned at the court, in the long run, must have exercised far-reaching influence on Akbar's mind. The common belief of the Muslims in the coming of a Mahdi, especially at the close of the millenium, afforded a ripe occasion for the interested persons to propose such a dignity as "the man of the age" to Akbar.

SUFI'ISM OR PANTHEISM.

Sūfi'ism (1) is derived from the word 'ṣūf' meaning woolen raiment, which was regarded as typical of simplicity of life devoid of ostentation and luxury as enjoined by the Prophet. Some of the pious devotees adopted the apparel as a silent protest against the growing luxury of Muslims. The first man to whom the word Sufi was applied was Abul Hāshim, the Syrian, who died in 777 A. D. The earliest writer who used this term was Yahya b. Mu'ādh of Ray (d.821-22 A.D.). The beginning of Sufism can be placed in the end of 8th and beginning of 9th century of Christian era.

There have been different views about the origin as there are different interpretations of the word Sufi. Some say it represents the Esoteric doctrine of the Prophet. Some hold that it was a reaction of the Aryan mind against the Semitic religion imposed upon them by force. Others regarded it as the product of Neo-Platonic influence.

Sufism is not a systemised or a definite doctrine like Manichaen or Ismaili theories, but is an eclectic and latitudinarian religion. The aphorisms of the great saints recorded in hagiologies of Al Qushayri, Al Yāfi'ī, Fariduddin 'Aṭṭār and Jami reflect only a devout quietism, a desire for seeking something deeper and more satisfying to the ardent souls and passionate love for God for his own sake not for the sake of rewards or punishments, a disregard for lip-service or formalism in worship, it was through Aba Yazid of Bistam and

1. Browne, E. G. Literary History of Persia, vol.II, p.416-438; Encyclopaedia of Islam under the word "Taṣawwuf" .

Junayd of Baghdād that the element of Pantheism was introduced. The former is reported to have said, "I am the throne of God, the preserved tablet, an unfathomable ocean of truth (God), praise me.' The latter uttered words like this, "For thirty years God spoke with mankind by the tongue of Junayd". God was regarded as subject of love and the subject of meditation. He was the one Reality and the phenomenal world as mere mirage or shadow of Being. In the beginning of the 10th century the personality of Manṣūr Al ḥallāj created a stir, who on account of his heretic utterance of "I am Truth (God)", was hanged to death. It was in the later part of the eleventh century that Sufism was moulded into a philosphical system by Ghazzali (d.1111-12 A. D.) Sanāī, ʿAṭṭār and Rūmi, the great mystic poets helped in making the mystic ideology popular. Later Dervishes or religious mendicants professed themselves as Sufis but they were ignorant of the true significance of spiritual ecstacies, evolutionary stations and complete annihilation in God.

Sufis attached less importance to outward appearance and adherence to rituals. They believed the human beings as the creation of one God without prejudice to their country, creed and colour. They displayed no show of their knowledge bigotory and prejudice. They spread the message of friendship and affection to the mankind.

In India the great Sufīs like Mu'īnuddīn Chishti of Ajmer (1142-1235 A. D., Bābā Farīd of Pattan (1186-1265 A.D.) Gesu Darāz of Gulbarga (1321-1422 A. D.) and Niẓāmuddin Auliyā at Delhi (1236-1325 A. D.) were honoured and held in great veneration throughout the country. Gujrat, Delhi and Agra were the main centres where the chief exponents of Sufi cult resided, preached and exercised their spiritual influence. After completing the prevalent curricula of education, it had become a fashion to study Sufism, practise it and attend upon a spiritual leader to attain some inner

enlighrenment through his teaching and influence. Shaikh Dāood at Lahore (d 983 A.H.), Salīm Chishtī (884-979 A.H.) at Agra and Shaikh Abdul Azīz (d 975 A.H. 1567 A. D.) at Delhi had their full sway in spiritual domain and attracted alike the hearts of the high and the low.

Sufism had its influence on Hinduism as well. Rāmānujā (1016-1137 A.D.) from South, worked out a doctrine out of Vedantic Philosophy with its central figures of a personal god and salvation of man lay in adoration and firm faith in him. This led to the rise of the Bhagti movement. Rāmānuja concentrated upon Rama as the model of his worship. This spiritual development was akin to Sufism because it also aimed at :- (1)

1. Elimination of all distinctions of caste. 2. Test of faith for salvation of man. 3. Unity of God and fraternity of man. 4. Union with God through a living human spiritual teacher. 5. Preaching of Truth in the vernacular of the people to all and not keeping it hidden in the sacred books or confining it to the privileged few. 6. Appeal to emotions for spiritual experience more than in dialectics and dogmatism. 7. Importance of music and hymns in worship. 8. The abandonment of worship of idols.

All this was popularised by the teachings of Rāmānandā, Tulsī Das, Kabīr and Nānak. Rāmānandā died in 1411 A.D. (approximately). He revolted against caste observance and worked for the uplift of the lowest in society. His hymns had good influence on common people. His disciple Tulsī Dās, through his sweet and sincere poetry moved the hearts of the Hindus to the love and the adoration of Rāmā. Another of his followers Kabīr (1398-1518 approximately) with his forceful persuasion and satire inspired the people to peace and brotherhood among mankind and union with God, the ultimate and final aim of man's life. He said,

1. Making of India, p.92.

"To that love am I a sacrifice by which caste, colour and family are set aside". (1) Though he lived in a Muslim family yet his body was claimed both by Hindus and Muslims. Bhagti movement of Kabīr gripped the mind of the common people of India. Rāi Dās, a Hindu cobbler; Sāīn, a barber; Dhannā, a Jāt; Pīpa, a ruling prince, followed him in proclaiming the faith in a living personal god. (2) Sūr Dās sang the love of Rādha and Krishna. The others like Kesho Dās and Mīrā Bāī (d.1633 A.D.) imbued with deep love poured out their feelings and furthered the cause of this movement. Nānak (1469-1539 A.D.) was brought up in a Muslim atmosphere and was in the service of a Muslim Nawab but he gave up worldly life and wandered from place to place in the company of Hindu and Muslim saints. He visited the holy places of Hindu and Muslim saints. He paid a visit to the holy shrines at Benāres and even made a pilgrimage to Mecca. He was a simple theist and had spiritual enlightenment. He attacked ritualism, and advocated the abolition of creeds and religious barriers and held that a true disciple is he who cleans his self and is sincere, patient and pure in words and deeds. He had a good number of followers in the Panjab, who, later formed themselves into a religio-political group known as the Sikh community.

Farther East in Bengal the Bhagti movement also exercised its influence. That great mystic Chaetan (1485-1533 A. D.) took Krishna as his central figure for adoration. He emphasized on the ecstatic dance and music which inspired the lover to those heights of emotion where the communion with the hero was attainable.

All of these movements aimed at union of religions through spiritual experience and removal of social barriers and observance of rituals. Though by the efforts of these

1. Making of India, p.93.
2. Tara Chand, Influence of Islam on Indian culture, p.178-181; History of Jahangir, p.39.

spiritual leaders their movement could not assume a regular form to which the people could formally attach themselves yet in the 16th century prior to Akbar, they had achieved religious tolerance and mutual forbearance, nowhere to be seen in other countries at that time.

ROSHNI MOVEMENT.

Similar to the Mahdavism was the movement called Roshni movement (1). The Roshnis believed in the coming of a masīḥā (Christ). They said, "God is absolute reality, the universal All Reason". The higher souls of the prophets get light from Him. The spiritual powers also exist in celestial phenomena, for example in sunlight and rain. Such divine spirit dwells in historic persons in different epochs. It is the duty of men to discover and recognise him. This person, by spiritual practices virtually becomes the incarnation of God. In 16th century Mullā Sulaimān of Kālinjar, a town lying to the West of Allahābād, was the greatest exponent of this creed. He became the spiritual preceptor of Sheikh Bāyazīd (Pir-i-Roshan), the apostle of light. The Sheikh was a horse-dealer and had travelled widely. He came back to Kaniguram in the Afghan Hills between the Gomal and Kurram (his native place), and underwent spiritual exercise to behold God. At last he had the revelation and he proclaimed himself the representative of God.

He used to offer prayers but did not think it necessary to turn his face towards the Sanctuary of Mecca as practised by Muslims. He said, "whosoever does not realise himself and does not enlighten his heart with the knowledge of Perpetual and Everlasting Existence is a dead man and may be killed". He and his friends used to rob and waylay the people and distribute the booty amongst the poor and deposited one fifth of the plunder in the Baitul Māl (Reserve treasury). He

1. J.I.H. 1930, p.318-19; Asiatic Researches, vol.II, p.363; Dabistanul Maḍahib, p.304-419; Translation of Dabistān by Shea and Troyers, vol.III, p.26-47.

said that a book had been revealed to him in four languages, Arabic, Persian, Hindi and Pushto entitled the Khairul Bayān. By 949 A.H. (1542 A.D.) his movement had gathered momentum and he had collected a good number of followers by his side. He started a crusade against the infidels and unbelievers.

To sum up the socio-religious situation in India in the words of Prof. Sinha, " India experienced an awakening that quickened her progress and vitalized her national life. The prominent note of this awakening was love and liberation love that united man to God, and therefore to his brother man, and liberalism born of this love that levelled down the barrier of caste, creed and calling, and took its stand on the bedrock of human existence and essence of all religions, universal brotherhood. With glorious ideals it inspired the Hindus and the Muslim alike, and they forgot for a time the trivialities of their creed. To the Muslim as to the Hindu, it heralded the dawn of a new era, to the Muslim with the birth of the promised Mehdi, to the Hindu with the realization of the absorbing love of God. (1)

---

1. J.I.H., p.1930.

CHAPTER II

Family of Abul Faḍl.

Ancestors. In his autobiographical account (1) Abul Fadl himself states that his paternal ancestors were of Arab origin and resided at Yemen. Shaikh Mūsā, the fifth ancestor, migrated from his country in his youth and settled at Rel, a pleasant village in Swistān (2) in the nineth century of the Hijra. His children and grand children lived happily and were initiated in esoteric and exoteric branches of learning. Among them was one Shaikh Khiḍr, Abul Fadl's grand-father, who along with a few of his relatives left Swistan to visit the saints of Central India at the beginning of the 10th century of Hijra, Under the ennobling influence of eminent teachers and spiritual guides such as Sayyid Yaḥyā Bukhārī (3), Shaikh Abdur Razāq Qādirī (4) and Shaikh Yūsuf Sindhi (5), he settled in the city of Nāgor. (6) There in the year 911 A.H. (1505 A.D.) Shaikh Mubārak, father of Abul Faḍl, was born. He was in his teens when Shaikh Khiḍr returned to Sind to bring some of his relatives back but he died in the course of his journey.

1. 'Āīn-i-Akbari, pt. III, p.258-283.
2. One of the five provinces of ancient Sind. It consisted of the following districts:- 1. Budholiya (Budhist country). 2.Jhankan. 3. Kohistan-i-Rujiyan, i.e. Kuh-i-Pabah. 4. Frontiers of Makran. Its present name is Sahwān. (Abu Ẓafar. Tārīkh-i-Sindh, p.12.).
3. Sayyid Yahyā Bukhārī. A man gifted with high spiritual knowledge. A successor of Makhdūm Jahāniyān.
4. Abdur Razāq Qādirī. He was the son of Abdul Qadir of Jilan, the second, and eminent saint of his age. He died at Nagor in 942 A.H. (Akhbārul Akhyār, p.205-206).
5. Yūsuf Sindhi. A saint endowed with spiritual attainments and secular learning, he lived at Nagor in the 10th century of Hijra. He was a contemporary of Abdur Razāq Qādiri.
6. Nāgor - a district in the state of Jodhpur, Rājputānā, in 27° 12' N and 73° 44' E, on the Jodhpur-Bikaner Railway.

Meanwhile a famine occured and a severe epidemic of plague broke out at Nāgor and all the members of his family perished except his mother. (1) It was about 947 A.H. (1540 A.H.) that his mother also passed away and he was left alone.

The people, inimically disposed towards Abul Faḍl and Faiḍī (sons of Shaikh Mubārak), used to pass taunting remarks on the name 'Mubarak', which was usually borne by domestic servants in those days, thereby hinting to the ignoble parentage of the brothers. In order to remove any doubt in the minds of his sons, Shaikh Mubarak once wrote to them (2).

بابای من! از فضلای این عهد که همه جو فروش و گندم نمااند و دین را به دنیا فروخته همه تهمت آن بر ما بسته اند
از گفته آنها نباید رنجید. از آنکه در نجابت ما گفتگو دارند دل بتشویش نباید نمود. در ایامی که والدین
در قید حیات بودند هنوز بسن بلوغ نرسیده بودم. والده من را در سایه حمایت یکی از سادات ذوی الاحترام در کمال
عسرت پرورش می نمود و در تربیت من از درس علم و دیگر تادیب کمال سعی بکار می برد. از آنکه پدرم مرا
حسب فرموده بزرگی موسوم به «مبارک» ساخته بود. روزی یکی از همسایه های حسد پیشه آن سید والا نژاد
که غمخواری و تیمارداری ما بی کسان می نمود، مادرم را بکلمات درشت رنجانیده، والد مرا به نجابت مطعون نمود و آن
سید او را زجر و توبیخ تمام فرمود. الحال که حق سبحانه و تعالی ما را از فضل بی پایان خویش در سایه
لطف و کرم پادشاه عادل و باذل فرزندان را به چنین مرتبه و پایه رسانده که فضلای عصر از راه هم چشمی
حسد می دارند و رشک می برند.

"My dear sons, all the learned of the age are hypocrites. They accuse us while they themselves have sold their religion for worldly gains. Their talk about our low parentage need not worry you. I had not attained the age of puberty before my father died. My mother, under the patronage of a respectable Sayyid, brought me up in very straitened circumstances and made every effort for my education and training. Because my father, according to the instructions of a saint, had named me "Mubārak"(the blessed), one of the rival neighbours of that noble Sayyid who used to take care and look after us, the helpless, spoke

1. 'Āin, pt. III, p.26.
2. Khāfī Khān, vol. I, p.198-99.

ill of my mother and accused her of ignobleness. My mother, while crying, went to that noble Sayyid who knew the pedigree of my father and complained against the oppression of the neighbour. That Sayyid severely reprimanded and punished him. At present, thank God, the sanctified Almighty, who, through His unlimited bounty, raised us to such a grade and rank under the auspices of that generous king, the pride of the times and the world, that the learned of the age had become envious of us".

Father- His learning.

Mubārak was an intelligent boy and at the age of 14 he had completed the usual course of studies. He attended Shaikh ʿAṭṭan (1) and received instruction in mystic knowledge. Abul Fadl states that his father also enjoyed the company of Khwājā ʿUbaidullāh Aḥrār (2) for four months, listened to divine truths and gained spiritual enlightenment (3). Chronologically this was impossible, because Khwājā Aḥrār died in 895 A.H. and Shaikh Mubārak was born in 911 A.H. At the set-back of Humāyūn (1530-1556 A.D.) and in the course of the disturbances thus caused, he left Nagor for Ahmadabad, where, he further distinguished himself in important branches of learning; studied with minute details the tenets of the four famour schools of Islamic jurisprudence and acquired the dignity of a mujtahid. (4) Traditionally, he belonged to the Hanafi theological School, but he avoided blind obeisance to it. He had read treatises on Sufi'sm, transcendental philosophy and had closely studied different views held by

1. ʿAttan. He was a Turk. He settled at Nāgor in the reign of Sikandar Lodhi (1488-1517 A.D.) Died at the age of 120.
2. Khwājā Ahrār. Nāsiruddin ʿUbaidullāh Mahmūd b. Shihabuddin Ahrār was born at village Yāghistān in the district of Tāshqand in 806 A.H. Died at Samarqand in 895 A.H. (Khazīnatul Asfiyā, vol.I, p.582-86).
3. Ain, pt. III, p.260.
4. Mujtahid. One who strives to attain a high position of scholership and learning. He must have knowledge of the Qur'ān and all that relates to it. He must know the Qur'ān by heart. Must have perfect knowledge of the Traditions and exegesis. Must lead a pios and austere life. Should have learnt all the sciences and law. Should have mastery on the four schools of juris prudence (Dictionary of Islam).

Shaikh Ibn-i-'Arabi, (1) Ibn-i-Farid (2) and Shaikh Sadruddin of Iconium. (3) He became a disciple of Khatib Abul Fadl Gāzrūni (10 who diligently instructed him and made him commit to memory the subtleties of the Shifā and the Ishārāt of Avicenna, and understand the difficulties of Tadhkirah (4) and Ptolemy's Almagest (5). He had also an opportunity to attend upon Shaikh Umar of Thatta, the greatest saint of his time and other scholars of Shattāri (6) Taifūri (7). Chishti (8) and Suhrawardi (9) orders and

---

1. Ibn-i-'Arabi. Muhyiddin Muhammad b. 'Ali b. Muhammad 'Arabi. Born at Mersia in Undlusiya, in 560 A.H. Died at Damascus 633 A.H. According to the Nafahātul 'Uns he was the author of 50 0 books, the most famoure of all is the Futuhātul Makkiyah. He was one of the greatest exponents of Pantheism and exercised deep influence over the later mystics. (Khazinatul Asfiyā, p.112.)

2. Ibn-i-Farid. (576-632 A.H.) He was Abul Qāsim 'Omar b. Abil Hasan 'Ali commonly known as Ibnul Farid, was a very learned and a most eminent sufi and poet.

3. Sadruddin. A saint, greatly learned in esoteric Sciences. Shaikh Fakhru-din 'Irāqi and Jalāluddin Rūmi benefited from him. Died 660 A.H. (Khazinatul Asfiyā, p.114.)

4. The Tadhkirah. The renowned work of the grammarian Abul Ali Hasan bin Ahmad Al Fārisi (died 989 A.H.) (Encyclopaedia of Islam, vol.II, p.419).

5. Ptolemy, C.D. A celebrated mathematician, astronomer and geographer, was born in a Grecian city. Later he settled at Alexandria between 127 and 151 A.D. according to some reports. Almagest is the Arabic name given to his work on trigonometry, plane, and spherical including the form of a table of chords. This branch of mathematics was created by Hipparchus for the use of astronomers and its exposition was given by Ptolemy in so perfect a form that it remained unsurpassed for 1400 years. (Encyclopaedia Brittanica, vol.18, p.734).

6. Shattāri. Know after Shaikh Abdullāh Shattāri. Shattār means swift runner but in sufistic terminology it refers to the spiritual exercise which leads to complete annihilation of the self in God. The shaikh is the author of the Risālah-i-Ishghāl-i-Shattāriyah. He died in fort Mandu in Mālwa in 832 A.H. (Khazinatul Asfiyā, vol.II, p.306).

7. Taifūri. The followers of Taifūr bin 'Isa Bistāmi, popularly known as Bāyazid Bistāmi. He was a saint of great intelectual distinction and spiritual enlightenment Died in 262 A.H. (874-75 A.D.) Ain-i-Akbari, pt. II, p.208.

8. Chishti. Attributed to Chist, a village in which Abu Ishāq Shāmi lived and who later became the founder of Chishtiya sect of Sufis. Died in 329 A.H. at Akkah.

9. Suhrawardi. Those who attach themselves to Shaikh Diāuddin Abun Najib Abdul Qāhir Suhrawardi who died in 563 A.H. Among many other works, his 'Adābul Muridin is a book of Sūfi discipline.

10. Khatib Abul Fadl Gāzrūni. A scholar of great repute, who had studied under eminent learned men like Maulāna Jalāluddin Dawwāni, Maulānā Muhyiddin Ashkbār and Khawājā Hasan Baqqāl Shirāzi. He settled at Ahmadābād in Gujrāt.

their instructions. He wished to devote himself to contemplation and self annihilation and other conventional obligations but Shaikh Yūsuf, another learned sufi teacher of Ahmadabad dissuaded him and persuaded him to proceed to Agra and occupy himself with secular teaching.

Settled at Agra

On 6th Muharram 950 A.H. (10/11 April, 1543 A.D.) he took up residence in the city of Agra at the bank of Jamna, in the vicinity of Mīr Rafī-ʿuddīn Safawi of Īj. (1) There he was married in a Quraish family of distinction. Abul Fadl says that his mother was of noble origin. She was strong in character, modest and benevolent. Shaikh Mubārak employed himself in teaching various sciences and was honourably received by high and low. He was very popular but also excited envy of the bigoted people by his very learned, sane and independent views. Sher Shāh Sūri, Salīm Shāh Sūri and others proposed a stipend for him and offered a free-hold but owing to his independent spirit and lofty views he declined the offer and thus enhanced his reputation still further. He continued to guide the people. He would often speak truth boldly and reprove evil-doers. During the reign of Humāyūn some students from Iran and Turan attended his lectures. When Hemu held authority under ʿĀdil Shāh (1552-53) the masses dispersed and many were made prisoners. At the intercession of Shaikh Mubarak they were released and Hemū had to offer an apology.

India was passing through a critical time. The country was changing its masters. Fortunes were fluctuating. People had no peace of mind. They were leaving one place to seek refugee at another but the strong man in Shaikh Mubārak held his ground, stayed at his place and continued his noble work.

Excited envy of the bigoted.

In 963 A.H. (1556 A.D.) i.e. in the first year of Akbar's accession to the throne, a great famine occurred; the

---

ایج - نام یکی از دهستانهای بخش اصطهبانات شهرستان فسا و در جنوب خاوری بخش واقع گردیده- (فرهنگ جغرافیائی ایران جلد ۷)

the epidemic of plague swept over the country and took a heavy toll of life. (1) Every one ran for one's own life. But Shaikh Mubārak, with seventy people, male and female, lived in contentment like a Darvish and never experienced the difficulty of provisions. People attributed magic and art of incantation to him. At the establishment of Akbar's reign, peace and affluence returned. People began to learn the traditional sciences. Shaikh Mubārak's school again became the resort of the learned, where all topics of knowledge were discussed at the highest level. The Shaikh was independent in his views and did not care for conventionalism. The envious accused him of attachment to the Mahdavi doctrines. They stirred up the simple and the ignorant against him. The jealousy of the learned of the day against him was deeprooted. In the reign of Salīm Shāh a youth called Shaikh ʻAlāī, a man of irreproachable conduct and character, professed Mahdavite views. He came to Agra to consult Shaikh Mubarak for a life of seclusion and retirement. The mullahs rose against him and obtained a judicial decree, sentencing him to death. The dispute was brought before the king and Shaikh Mubarak was also summoned; but unlike others he fell out for he found neither reason nor tradition on their side. From that day they imputed to him an attachment to that cause.(2).

At the same time another Imām,(3) a Shi'a Sayyid of ʻIrāq, fell a victim to these haughty ʻUlamā at Court. Deriving their authority from some ambiguous case in an ancient Hanafi Book, they challenged eligibility of his leadership (imāmat) in religious functions. They contended that the teachings of Iraq dignitary should not be accepted. The man's prospect was gloomy. He approached Shaikh Mubārak, who, with reference to authoritative passages, repudiated the remarks,

1. Āīn, pt. III, p.205 (N.K.edn.)
2. Ibid. p.206.
3. Imām. One who leads congregation prayers in mosques. He is the paid servant of the state.

telling him that the 'Irāq' referred to was 'Irāq-i-'Ajam' and not 'Irāq-i-'Arab' to which the Imam belonged. The Sayyid represented his case before the Emperor on that ground. The traducers were confounded to hear the exactitude of his arguments. They discovered the source of this reply and were inflamed with jealousy and attributed Shi'ism to the Shaikh as he was, according to them in league with Shi'as and helped them (1).

In 977 A.H. (1569-70 A.D.) Shaikh Mubārak and Abul Fadl happened to be in an assembly where Makhdūmul Mulk was also present. The latter, out of his affected haughtiness, began his crafty discourse. Abul Fadl replied and rejoined so nicely that he was put to shame. He, with his co-believers, conspired to bring the down-fall of the Shaikh and his family. Their position was tottering. The Court 'Ulamā hatched a scheme of persecution against them.

His persecution. "In 982 A.H.", states Badāyūni, "Shaikh 'Abdun Nabi (2), Makhdūmul Mulk and other religious scholars, with one accord, submitted that Shaikh Mubarak was a Mahdavite and a wicked innovator. They alleged that he misled and misguided others".(3) They got permission to bring him to book and despatched the police to bring him up and face the trial. A good man informed the Shaikh about this intrigue and requested him to leave his house and go into hiding until his friends paved the way to enable him to represent his case before Akbar. On the advice of this man Shaikh Mubārak, Abul Faḍl and Faiḍi, after mutual consultation, left their house at midnight with no destination

1. Muntakhab, p.206.
2. Abdunnabi Sadr. He was a grand son of Abdul Quddūs Ganguhi, an eminent saint of his age. He studied Hadith at Mecca and Madina and was so much respected by all due to his knowledge and piety that even the Emperor Akbar lay shoes before his feet with his own hands. He held supreme authority as a Sadr under Akbar. Later he was degraded and exposed due to his own shallowness and hypocricy and sent to Mecca. Died in 991 A.H.

3. Muntakhab, p.200 (N.K.Edn.)

before them in a very helpless and depressed condition. The Shaikh was reluctant to leave his place but was prevailed upon by Faidi in view of the gravity of the situation. Next morning their home was besieged. The intended victims were found missing. In their rage the police broke the pulpit of the mosque. (1) Abul Khair, the younger son, was taken prisoner to the court and their flight was reported to the king and false allegations were made against them. Akbar was too shrewd and found out the interestedness and selfishness of their motives and ordered release of the boy and withdrawl of the soldiers from their house. But the accusers were too clever to let the public know the attitude of Akbar and therefore the Shaikhs were given out as fugitives and absconders. Even the friends and the disciples hesitated to give shelter to them. Shaikh Mubārak made a request to Shaikh Salīm Chishti (2) who was held in great reverence by Akbar, to intercede on their behalf. But he sent a message through one of his agents to the effect that it was better for the Shaikh to flee to Gujrat. (3) Being disappointed they wandered from door to door, seeking refuge, walking at night in disguise and fearing arrest. After they had suffered for three months and nineteen days Akbar was informed of the situation. Mirza Azīz Koka (4) pointed out to him the scholarship and saintly life of the Shaikh and the scholarliness of his sons. He further impressed on the king the fact that the Shaikh had been leading a life of contentment and had no desire of begging land from him. To persecute such a darvish was in no way just. Akbar realised it

1. Muntakhab. p.200(N.K.Edn.)
2. Salim Chishti. (884-979 A.H.) Beloved saint of Sur Kings. Was descendent of Farīduddin Shakarganj (d.670 A.H.). Akbar was blessed with a son through his prayers. Salim, afterwards known as Jahangir, was named after this saint. He was burried inside the palaces at Fatehpur Sikri.
3. Muntakhab. p.200 (N.K.Edn.)
4. Mirza Aziz Koka. He was foster brother of Akbar. He was commander of 5000 and entitled as Khan-i-'Azam. He was governor of Gujrat, Bihar and Bengal at successive intervals. He fought many battles for the state. He was a highly influential person at the court, and often offended Akbar due to his boldness. He proceeded to Mecca without the permission of the Emperor, as a protest against religious innovations but he accepted the Din-i-Ilahi on his return. He died in 1033 A.H.

and at once desired their attendance at the Court. The enemies were non-plussed. The Shaikhs were received with due honour and allowed to go to their homes. Abul Fadl has told the story of these sufferings at length in his autobiographical account.(1)

Shaikh Mubarak continued his noble task of teaching the people at Agra, with only one interval owing to his visit to the mausoleums of Nizāmuddīn Auliyā and Khwaja Qutbuddin at Delhi and other holy saints in the way. He got inner enlightenment in abundance through their spiritual influence. (2) Abul Fadl also accompanied him in this holy journey and experienced spiritual ecstacy. (2)

Shaikh Mubārak did not accept any post in the Court, but he used to see Akbar only at some royal function or festival and say a word of felicitation or offer a congratulation and then depart. At times Akbar often missed his advice and opinion on certain problems. The Shaikh was a pleasant talker and had a store of commonsense which pleased others.

---

1. Āīn, pt. III, p.267-274.
2. This refers to psychic and religious experience which has not yet been referred to by the modern thinkers on religious philosophy. Prof. William James in his "Varieties of religious experience" has alluded to the teleological aspect of religious experiences, their timely spatial consequences. Very recently this pertinent question has been studied by Prof. Goachim Wach in his two books; Sociology of religion and Types of religious experiences. He has mainly discussed the phenomena with the socio-cultural point of view. He has categorically rejected the lenier trend of thought in the scholastic and religious philosophy of 18th and 19th century. In the latter book he has touched upon the very problem so beautifully alluded by our author Abul Fadl. The spiritual personalities as resultant of their assimilation with the Infinite personality of God derive all their spiritual potentiality and hence there is no time to spatial limit in their effect. The saints as such as the incarnation of spiritual entity of God get their perpetual survival.
(Types of religious experiences, p.8-10 Chicago).

The Eastern exponent of this theory is Allama Iqbal. In his "Reconstruction of Religious thought in Islam", he constantly and reiterately put this question into the searching analyses in the light of modern development of thought bringing concordance with the Islamic concept. In his synthetic analyses he has fully enunciated the idea of not only the immortality of human soul but also he has discussed the after effect of the spirituality traversing the time and space limit. Again, the whole problem has been analysed under the modern science and psychology by taking a realistic attitude about possibolity of religion. Herin he has expressed the possibility of telic influence of human soul after deterioration.

In the year 981 A.H., when the Emperor returned from Gujrat after a splended victory, Shaikh Mubārak also went to say a word of congratulation. All the nobles and grandees expressed their sentiments of happiness and congratulated the Emperor with humility and respect. But the Shaikh was bold enough to talk humourously at the moment. He said,"Your Majesty, the people have come to congratulate you at this occasion but it occurs to my mind that your Majesty should congratulate us because it is due to our sincere prayers that Almighty has bestowed upon us a man of higher fortune like your Majesty whose magnanimity and good administration have made him our leader and offered us such splended victories" (1)

Teacher of the Emperor.

Akbar had a keen desire to know the reality of things and to investigate into the religious problems for which a knowledge of Arabic was indispensable. On the suggestion of Abul Faḍl and Faiḍi, he commenced learning grammer and began with the Ṣarf-i-Hawāī from Shaikh Mubarak. The sons pointed out to Akbar that their father did not bear formalities (شیخ با تکلف اصلا ندارد). The emperor said,"Yes, I know, observance of formalities has been left to you (آری تکلفات را همه بر شما گذاشته اند).After a while the interest subsided owing to other administrative engagements. (2)

Adviser.

In 987 A.H. (1579 A.D.) a Brahman of Mathura was put to death in the charge of using filthy language about the Prophet, by the orders of Shaikh 'Abdun Nabi, the Ṣadr without the explicit wish of Akbar. Badāyūnī says, "Some of the mischief mongers and new jurists of Court told Akbar that the judgment passed by the Shaikh was contrary to the conclusions arrived at by his ancestor, the Imām Abu Ḥanīfah whose decisions were proclaimed as religious law in this country. The Imam held that if a non-Muslim in a conquered country passed obscene remarks about the Prophet, breach of treaty and abrogation of responsibility did not occur" (3).

---

1. A.N. vol.III, p.39.
2. Muntakhab, vol. III, p.81-82 (Calcutta Edn.)
3. Ibid. p.225 (N.K.Edn.)

During the discussion the king himself asked Badayuni whether one out of a hundred opinions against the capital punishment of an accused XXXXXXXX could be acted upon? Badāyūnī replied in the affirmative. The king was enraged and remarked that the Shaikh Ṣadr did not know even this much. Thus the action of the Shaikh was condemned. Akbar had already shown disfavour towards the religious leaders on account of their mutual wranglings and unmannerly behaviour in the meetings of the 'Ibadatkhana.

After some time Shaikh Mubārak paid a visit to Akbar in connection with a function. Akbar told him all about this incident. The Shaikh said, "You yourself are the Imam of the age. In the promulgation of the religious and political regulations you need not refer to the group of 'ulamā. They have no knowledge but an unfounded fame for knowledge". The Emperor replied,"You have been my teacher, why don't you release me from the obligation of these mullās". The Shaikh said,"Claim the authority of "Ijtihād" (3) and ask them to sign a document to confirm it" (1) This matter was discussed in the assembly of 'Ulamā. The definitions of Ijtihād and Mujtahid were framed. Ghāzi Khān Badakhshi, a master of contemplative sciences, also sided with Shaikh Mubārak and others, who held that the just religious leader who knew the political expediencies was a better man than a jurist. Accordingly a document was drafted by the Shaikh. It runs as under :- (2)

Document. "The purpose of laying this foundation and introductioning this theme is this :-

As India, having been fortified against the disturbances of time, became the centre of peace and security and a realm of equity and beneficence through the blessing of royal justice

---

1. Muntakhab, III, p.83.
2. Tabaqāt-i-Akbari, vol.II, p.345; Muntakhab,II, p.271.
3. Ijtihād. The logical deduction on a legal or theological question by a Mujtahid.
4. Ghāzi Khān. See f.n.P.

and administration, people of different ranks, high and low, especially the truly learned and the research scholars who are the guides in the plain of salvation, and the treacers of the paths of all grades of knowledge, immigrated from Arabia and Iran and settled in this country. All the distinguished scholars, well versed in the principles and branches of contemplative and traditional sciences and those who are distinguished by faith, honesty and self-preservation, after profound contemplation in the deep meaning of the exalted verse, "Obey God, obey the Apostle and those who have authority among you" and the genuine tradition, "The dearest man to God on the day of resurrection is the Imām-i-Ādil (just leader); whosoever obeys the Amīr (chief) obeys me; and whosoever disobeys him disobeys me" and "an hour's justice is better than the 70 years of prayers of the whole nights and fasts of the days", etc. and other proofs based on reason and historical evidence, have agreed and decreed that the rank of just king (سلطان عادل) is higher than that of Mujtahid(an authority who, after reading, referring and comparing with basic principles of law gives his final ruling on a problem). His Majesty, the king of the faithful, the shadow of God, in the world, Abul Fath Jalāl-ud-Din Muḥammad Akbar S͟hāh Ghāzi (warrior champion) (God perpetuate his kingdom), is the most just, the most wise, and the man who knows God to the best. On the basis of this, if he, through his right understanding and penetrating mind choses to favour one side of the religious problem on which the opinion of mujtahids differ and decrees in favour of that side keeping in view the facility of making's livelihood and the interests of the world administration, it will be agreed upon and its observance will be compulsory and obligatory on the whole public. Further if, through his rightful judgment he issued an order for the welfare of the people and which is not in contravention of the Qur'anic verse, will have to be obeyed and acted upon by all. The opposition or disobedience of such an order will entail displeasure of God and loss of faith and wordly happiness. This truthful document has been written down for God's sake and as a declaration for

enforcement of the laws of Islam, under the signature of the religious scholars and jurist in the month of Rajab, 987 A.H. (August, 1579)". The document was signed by Shaikh Abdun Nabi, Ṣadruṣ Ṣudūr, Abdullāh Sultānpuri, the Makhdūmul Mulk, Jalāluddin Multāni, the chief justice, (1) Ṣadr-i-Jahān, the grand mufti of the empire,(2), Ghāzi Khān Badakhshi (3) and other Qadis and muftis. Shaikh Mubārak signed and added the following words :-

"I was desirous of this affair with all my life and spirit and was waiting for this occasion for long".

Criticism of the document.

Basically, according to the teaching of Islam, the decree was valid. The Qur'ān laid down, "Obey God, obey the Prophet and the men of authority amongst yourselves and if you have a dispute concerning any matter refer it to God and the Apostle if you have faith in God and the day of resurrection" (chapter 4, verse 59). Now to take decisions on day to day problems reference to God i.e. the word of God, the Qur'ān, can always be made, but reference to the Prophet ended with him on his death. Later on this duty devolved on his Caliphs or representatives who were to be the final authority on disputed points. The caliph, the holder of this authority, therefore, must be a man, well versed in the Qur'ān, the most suitable, the most highly respected person of unimpeachable integrity and character. The true spirit of the injuction is that all decisions taken, should conform to the spirit and laws of God. So

---

1. Jalāluddin Multāni. He belonged to the suburbs of Bhakka (Sind). He was a great scholar of bold views. He settled at Agra and occupied himself in teaching. He was appointed Qādi after dismissal of Qadi Yaqūb and was known for his honesty. He was expelled to Deccan by the orders of Akbar, wherefrom he proceeded to Mecca and died there. (Muntakhab, III, p.78).

2. Ṣadr-i-Jahān. Mirān Ṣadr-i-Jahān was born in Pihāni, a village near Qannauj. After distinguishing himself in conventional learning he became mufti and later Sadr through recommendation of Abdun Nabi Ṣadruṣ Ṣudūr. He was sent as an ambassador to Abdullah Khan Uzbak, the ruler of Turān. He was raised to the rank of 2000 by Akbar and later to 4000 by Jahāngir. He was a member of Din-i-Ilahi. Died at the age of 120 in 1020 A.H. (Āin, Translation, I, p.468).

far as the intention of the framers of the document was concerned they wished the emperor to act according to Islamic traditions and follow in the footsteps of the true caliphs. The caliph was the defender and maintainer of faith, the protector of the territory of Islam, the supereme judge of the state. He was the commander of the faithful, leader and ruler of all Muslims. His authority was limited by the existence of Divine Law which he could not supersede but he was its final interpreter and it was his duty to enforce it". (1) It was with this spirit that Akbar once attempted to lead the congregational prayers of the faithful on a Friday. But the crux of the problem is: was Akbar a suitable person to represent the Prophet, to be the chief of the state and so enrudite and so honest as to think and pass judgment according to the precepts laid down in the Qur'ān? The answer is in the negative. He was an autocratic king; his kingship was hereditary, which is absolutely contrary to the democratic spirit of Islam. The initiators and the supporters of the decree do not appear to have acted in the true spirit of the Qur'an by nominating Akbar as Imām-i-ʿĀdil.

Co. Malleson in his book on Akbar, P.156-57, misreads this document, and states that Abul Fadl's proposition that the "King was the temporal as well as the spiritual guide of his subject", struck at the fundamental principle of Islam, according to which the Qur'an stands above every human ordinance". In view of the fact that it was expressly laid down in the document that the Qur'ān would be the supreme authority and the king would be obeyed if his orders were not in contravention of the Qur'an, therefore, the proposition of Abul Fadl is not contradictory to Islamic principle. Mr. Khosla also lost sight of this

1. Aḥkāmus Sultāniya; Arnold's caliphate; Sulūkul Mulūk; quoted in the Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi, p.23.

sentence when he said that the document "established the legal omnipotence of the sovereign power. (1)

The document, writes Abul Fadl, brought about excellent results :- (2)

1. The court became the gathering place of the sages and leaders of all creeds, the good doctrines of all religious systems were recognized, and their defects were not allowed to obscure their good features.
2. Perfect toleration, or peace with all, was established; and
3. The perverse or evil minded were covered with shame on seeing the distinerested motives of His Majesty and stood in the pillory of disgrace".

The above were the chief aims which the framers of the documents especially Shaikh Mubārak, Abul Faḍl, Faiḍi and the Emperor had in view but the powerful authority of religious leaders at the court was the chief stumbling block. The object would not be achieved without the removal of the final authority of the ʿulamā and this document served as means to an end.

The fate of these religious lords was sealed when they signed the document with their own hands. The Emperor armed with the decree wielded his political lance freely and later on he forgot all about the limitations and conditions laid upon him as supreme authority. At last this document proved to be a political move to end the influence and oppression of the powerful clergy at the Court and empower the Emperor to act according to political expediency.

---

1. A.N., vol.II, p.273.
2. Mughal kingship and nobility, p.185.

Vincent Smith calls this document as "Infallibility decree and a momentous innovation which should extend the autocracy of Akbar from the temporal to the spiritual side and make him pope as well as king". (1) Professor Siri Ram Sharma has nicely refuted the interpretation of Mr. Smith. He says, "Akbar made no claim to infallibility in any metaphysical sense. His interpretation of the laws was to be final, just as a ruling of the Privy council. His decisions could not, and in fact did not, silence opposition to his views. The authority vested in him could be used effectively only by Akbar himself for justifying his own personal practice. He did not claim to define the religious beliefs of his subjects and force his decisions on them as Tudor "Governor of the Church" had claimed to do, at this period in England. (2) As regards the combining the headship of the church and kingship in one person, we have already remarked that it was not alien to Islamic traditions. One man could be the head of the state as well as the final authority on the laws of the religion. Muhammad and his first four caliphs were the supreme heads as well as the chief judges of their dominions. Any matter of dispute could be referred to the chief of the state for final decision. Of course he was bound to take advice from the experts or his ministers as enjoined upon him by the Qur'anic injuction شاوِرهُم فى الامر "take counsel with them in the affairs". There is no theocracy in Islam. By the establishment of sultanate or kingship in Islamic countries a separate clergy grew up side by side, which interpreted laws and supported the kingship in their addresses delivered on Friday Congregations. Later on the king as well as clergy became interdependent for their life

---

1. Akbar, the great Mughal, p.176.
2. Religious policy of Mughal Emperor, p.39-40.
3. The Qur'an, chapter 3, verse 159.

and enlisted the public opinion in his favour. To a European who could hardly entertain the idea of uniting pope and king in one person, Akbar's transfer of the power of clergy to himself was very strange.

Mr. F.W.Bickle, in his article in J.R.A.S. 1924, p.591-408, also criticised Mr. Smith's statement by asserting that this limited interpretation of the "Maḥḍar" seems to obscure the real policy of Akbar. He had examined the past diplomatic relations of Akbar's ancestors, Timūr, Bābur and Humāyūn with the Shāhs of Persia and the Caliphs of Turky, and had come to the conclusion that by having been pronounced as Amirul Mu'minin and Imām-i-'Ādil in this decree Akbar made himself independent of the religious and political influence and control of Ottoman Turks and the Ṣafawī kings of Persia. Of course the reasoning is not irrelevant. But the immediate interest of the Emperor was what we have said above.

<u>His death.</u> In 995 A.H.(1584 A.D.) Abul Fadl invited Shaikh Mubarak to Lahore where he passed off due to illness on 17 Dhilqa'd, 1001 A.H. (15 August, 1593 A.D.. (1) The body was deposited as a trust and was later removed to Agra in 1002. Badāyūni wrote the chronogram as "Shaikh-i-Kāmil" and Faidi as "Fakhrul Kamal". Under the description of Agra in the Ain, Abul Fadl says, " On the other side of the river is the Chār Bāgh villa, built by Firdaus Makānī (Bābur). The author was born there and there are the resting places of his father and his elder brother". (2) The bodies were removed to the other side by Abul Fadl himself who built the mausoleum. The place situated at Sikandra,near Agra, is known as the mausoleum of Ladli Begam, the sister of Abul Fadl. The following inscription over the entrance in the Tughra characters may still be seen:-

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه ثقتی - هذه الروضة العالم الربانی والعارف الصمدانی جامع العلوم شیخ مبارک الله قدس سره - تعلق وقف
ببنائه بحر العلوم شیخ ابو الفضل سلمه الله تعالی فی ظل دولة العادل یطلبه المجد والاقبال والکرم جلال الدین اکبر پادشاه غازی
خلد الله تعالی سلطنته - باهتمام حضرت ابو البرکات - سنه اربع و الف

1. Āin, Pt. III, p.276.
2. Ibid. vol.I, p.441.

"In the name of God, the Merciful and the Compassionate, in Whom alone I trust, This mausoleum was constructed for the divine scholar, the holy sage, the most learned Shaikh Mubārakullah, may his Divine understanding be sanctified, was founded by the Ocean of knowledge, Shaikh Abul Faḍl (may God the most high preserve him) under the Royal shadow of the Just king whom honour, property and grace follow, Jalāluddin Akbar Badshah Ghazi, may God the most High ever perpetuate his kingdom, Built under the superintendence of Abul Barakat in 1004 A.H.(1595)". This place was sold by the Government to a Hindu Lakhmi Chand set of Mathra who dug up marble, sold it and destroyed the tombs.(a)

His character. Mullā 'Abdul Qādir Badāyūnī was the pupil of Shaikh Mubārak. He attended his lectures for some years and was greatly indebted to him for his own learning, quick wit and knack of debating. In his history he wrote a comprehensive note about the Shaikh as follows :-

"He is one of the greatest scholars of his time. He is distinguished among the people for his moral soundness, piety and trust in God. In the beginning of his career he subjected himself to great asceticism and self-abnegation. He was so staunch in giving commands to do what was lawful and enjoining not to commit what was unlawful that if any man came to his assembly with a gold ring or silk or red or yellow garment on his person he at once ordered him to put it off. And if any one's trousers had gone down to the limit of the ankle he ordered for the extra portion to be torn off.(2) If he heard a tune of music on his way he would at once run away. But in the last years of his career, out of his ecstacy of divine mystery he was so enraptured in music that he felt no rest

1. Muhammad Latīf. Agra. p.193.
2. While translating Abdul Qādir Badāyunī's note on Shaikh Mubārak, Mr. Blochmann, in his preface to the Āin-i-Akbari, p.XIX, has interpreted the line thus:"in legal decisions he was so severe as to maintain that for every hurt exceeding a simple kick, death was the proper punishment", which is incorrect and misleading. It simply meant that he ordered the portion of the trousers to be torn off, which exceeded the point of the ankle.

without listening to a tune, vocal or instrumental. In short he was a man who adapted himself to various trends of opinion in life. For some time during the reign of Afghāns he was in the society of Shaikh Alai. In the beginning of Akbar's reign, when the Naqshbandi school (2) was popular, he associated himself with that sect. For some time he was attached to Hamadani saints. At last when the 'Irāqīs had the upper hand in the Court he behaved according to their faith. "Talk to the people according to their understanding" had become his motto. However, he was always engaged in teaching the religious branches of learning. He had a special mastery over mysticism unlike the Indian scholars. He had committed to memory the Shāṭibī (2) and taught it in a befitting manner. He had learnt the Qur'an by heart with ten variant readings. He never entered the service of the kings. He was a pleasant companion and had a store of wonderful stories at his command. In the last years of his life his eye-sight grew weaker. He could not study and so led a secluded life. He wrote a commentary on the Qur'an in four volumes, like the Tafsir-i-Kabīr by Rāzi, entitled Manba-'i-Nafāisul 'Uyūn. The strangest of things is that he wrote an introduction which gave a hint to his being a revivalist of the century. By the time he had finished his work, he had committed the قصیدۂ تائیہ by Ibn-i-Fāriḍ(3) consisting of seven hundred verses to memory the poem Burdah and the ode

---

1. Naqshbandi. Muhammad b. Muḥammad Bahāud dīn al Bukhāri (717-791 A.H. 1317-1489 A.D.) the founder of Naqshbandi order. His name, which signifies "painter", is interpreted as "drawing incompprable pictures of Divine science" or holding the form of real perfection in the heart.
(Encyclopaedia of Islam, vol. III, p.84).
2. Shāṭibi. (538-590 A.H.) He was Abu Muhammad Al Qāsim Abu Fira bin Khalf Al Undulsi Ash Shāṭibī. He was a unique expert of his age in grammar and philology. He composed the well known poem on recitation and intonation of the Qur'ān entitled حرز الامانی فی وجه التهانی consisting of 1173 verses. (D.E.B.A., p.1091).
3. Ibnul Fāriḍ. (576-632 A.H.) He was Abul Qāsim Omar bin Abil Hasan Ali commonly known as Ibnul Fāriq, the very learned and the most eminent sufi and poet. قصیدۂ تائیہ is a poem with as rhyme. There are two poems, the short and the long(صغری و کبری). Here Tāiyyatul Kubra is meant, which is also called as نظم السلوک It was published by Hammer Purgstall and published in 1854 A.D. The opening verse runs as

سقتني حميا الحب راحة مقلتي ۔ وكاسي محيا من عن الحسن جلت

by Ka'b Ibn Zuhair (1) and used to recite them daily.

Badāyūni further remarks,"Nothing was left of his original merit owing to the development in him of a gross desire to improve his wordly status by resorting to irreligiousness, deceit, fraud, fortune hunting, opportunism and a tendency to distort religious and political canons".(2)

Badāyūni had simply done injustice in arraigning him of being a time server and hankerer after rank and wealth. The events of the Sheikh's life themselves constitute his exoneration. Had he been a time server he would never have given his opinion in favour of Shaikh 'Alāī when he was called upon by Salim Shah Suri to give judgment on the former's faith and conduct. He could have saved himself from the dangerous hostility of Makhdūmul Mulk. All the agonies and sufferings he underwent for his own faith and independent views bespeak that he was not a time server. Had he any desire for rank and wordly pomp he would have tried for it in the reign of Suri kings. At the time when his sons held the highest and the most influential position in the Court of Akbar he could have easily installed himself as the Shaikhul Islam or Sadrus Sudūr.

Was Sheikh a Mahdavi

Sheikh Mubarak had been branded as a Mahdavi and Rafidi (heretic). Mr. Blochmann also states that he became a follower and professed Mahdavite ideas (3). This indictment is not based on facts but merely on hearsay. Badāyūni himself answers this charge. He states "In one of the meetings in the assembly of Mian Hātim Sambhali, my revered teacher, the Miān asked me, "The people say that Sheikh Mubārak follows the doctrines of Mahdavites. What is your opinion?" I said,"He believes that

1. Ka'b Ibn Zuhair.(...622 A.H.) He was the son of an eminent poet Zuhair, an author of pre-Islamic poems called "Mu'allaqat".In his pre-Islamic career, Ka'b composed a lampoon on the prophet. On his acceptance of Islam he composed an ode in eulogy of Islam and the prophet on listening to which the apostle took from his shoulders the mantle he wore and threw it over the shoulders of the poet as an honour and as a mark of protection. Henceforth this poem was called burdah means the mantle. The opening verse runs as under :-

بانت سعاد فقلبي اليوم متبول - متيم اثرها لم يفد مكبول

(Clouston, W.R.,Arabic Poetry p.312)

2. Muntakhab, vol. III, p.73-75.

Mir Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpur is a great saint but does not believe him to be the promised Mahdi'. He said, 'There is no doubt about the accomplishments of the Sayyid". In that assembly Mir Sayyid Muhammad Mir-i-'Adl (chief justice) was also present. He asked me, 'Why is he called Mahdavi?' I said,"Owing to his issuing commands to do the lawful and not to do the unlawful". He again asked me, 'One day 'Abdul Hakim Khurasani, once a sadr, was complaining against the Shaikh to Bairam Khan. Do you know the reason?" I said, 'Because the Shaikh had written him to attend the congregation prayers in the mosque of "Hayyee" according to Sunnah. He took offence to it and though that the Shaikh was a Mahdavi and accused him of heresy'. Mir Sayyid Muhammad said, "Mir 'Abdul Hakim's deduction of the Shaikh's heresy is based on the syllogism; "you do not say prayers with the congregation and he who does not offer prayers with the congregation is a heretic. Therefore you are a heretic. The major premise is inadmissible'. And likewise this syllogism; 'the Shaikh (Mubarak) issued commands to obey the lawful and he who issued the command to obey the lawful is a Mahdavi and this is also inadmissible".(1)

Mr. Lanepool refers to Shaikh Mubarak as a Shi'a pantheist.(2) This exposition of the Shaikh's faith does not appear to have been based on his writings. We may presume that he believed in pantheism because of the fact that those who led a life of mysticism (sufism) generally believed in it. But as regards his belief in shi'ism, we doubt if a man of such a totalitarian views could subscribe to the sectarian faith.

Shaikh as judged by foreigners.

The foreigners who came to the court often visited Shaikh Mubarak. They speak of his broadmindedness, toleration and saintly life. Priest Rudolf, the

1. Muntakhab, vol. II, p.67,68.
2. Mediaeval India under Mohammedan Rule, p.279.

leader of the first Jesuit Mission to the court of Akbar, wrote in his letter dated April, 1582.(1)

"There is here an old man (Shaikh Mubārak), the father of the Emperor's secretary, in whom he confides in matters of faith. He has left the world and is of great virtue and given much to contemplation of divine things, whence he appears disposed to receive the light of our faith and we have already visited him several times at his house with much consolation".

Another member of this mission, Mr.Monserrate speaks high of him because he acted in their interest. We had better quote his remarks here. He wrote, "He (Shaikh Mubārak) was devoted to religious meditation, and who had little faith in Muḥammad and his book. All his sons followed this old Man's example and openly declared that the Qur'ān contained many impious, wicked and highly inconsistent passages and that hence they were convinced it had not been sent by God. The priests were astonished at this old man's wisdom, authority and friendliness to Christianity. He was wont devoutly to kiss the gospel and to place it on his head. He looked upon the priests as angels, and used to declare that the young interpreter (Francis Henrique) was an exceedingly fortunate fellow since he constantly enjoyed their company. In his private conferences with the king he held it his most precious privilege to extol the learning and humility of the fathers".(2) We doubt the truth in Father Monserrate's statement as regards Shaikh Mubārak's opinion about the Qur'ān. He, as we have said before, was a great lover of the Qur'ān. He had committed it to his memory and could recite it in ten variant readings. In the last years of his life he wrote a commentary on it in four volumes.

1. The Jesuits and the Great Mughal, p.38.
2. Monserrate's commentary, p.55-56.

Musician. Shaikh Mubārak was a connoisseur of music. Sometimes in the presence of the king he discussed the art of music and the Emperor said that he would show him the galaxy of musicians and their art. Accordingly Shaikh Manjhu and Miān Tānsen, with other artists were sent to the house of the Shaikh to display their accomplishments. He listened to all and then said to Miān Tānsen, "I hear you can also sing a little". After having listened to him he remarked, "He can just bleat like animals".(1)

His writings. Naqib Khān often read books on history and science to Akbar in leisure hours. One of the books often read was the Hayātul Hayawān (2), the text of which was in Arabic and the reciter had to translate it. Shaikh Mubarak translated it into Persian on the recommendation of Abul Fadl.

We have already mentioned the commentary on the Qur'an entitled "Manba-'i-Nafā'isul 'Uyūn". No copy of this Ms. nor that of the Hayātul Hayawān is available any where.

A complete letter addressed by him to Abul Fadl, his son, has been preserved on fol. 147-149 of a collection of letters entitled the Majmū'a-i-Mufāwadāt, a Ms. of which is preserved in the Panjab University Library. Because of the poor shikasta handwriting of the scribe, some of the words could not be deciphered. In view of its rarity and importance it is reproduced in an appendix, as a souvenir of a great man.
Another fragment of his letter, addressed to his sons, Abul Fadl and Faidi, has been quoted by Khāfi Khān in his history (pp.198-99) which we have already quoted.

1. Muntakhab, vol.II, p.82-83.
2. Hayātul Hayawān, is a book by Kamālud Din 'Abul Baqā Muhammad bin Mūsa bin 'Isā Ad Dameeri Almisri (750-?). The book was compiled from 560 books and 199 Divans of Arab poets in 753 A.H. It contains biographical account of the poets, scholars, philosophers and events relating to first four caliphs and a number of Omayyids. It is arranged in alphabetic sequence (D.E.B.A. p.88).

The author of the Ma'āthirul Umarā also puts the Jawāmi'ul Kilam, to his credit. (1)

His children. Daughters.

1. One was married in 997 A.H. to Khudāwand Khān Deccani who was Niẓām Shāhi grandee and who joined the Mughal Court in 995 A.H. He received a Mansab of 1000. Died in 998 A.H.

2. The second was married to Mir Husamuddin son of Ghāzi Khān Badakhshi, who enjoyed the rank of 1000 horse. He served with Khān Khanān in the Deccan. He renounced the world, turned a dervish and died in Delhi in 1043 A.H.

3. The third was married to a son of Raja 'Ali Khān, the ruler of Khāndis. From him she had a son named Ṣafdar Khān who attained the rank of 1000 in 45th year of Akbar's reign.

4. The fourth was Lāḍli Begam who was married to Islām Khan Shaikh 'Alāuddin Chishti, grand son of Shaikh Salīm Chishti.

Sons.

1. Abul Faiḍ Faiḍi, the poet laureate of Akbar, was born in 954 A.H. (1547 A.D.)

2. Abul Faḍl was born on 6 Muharram, 958 A.H.

3. Abul Barakāt was born on 17 Shawwāl,960 A.H. (25 September, 1553). He was a good soldier and a sagacious person.

4. Abul Khair was born on 22 Jamādi-ul Awwal, 967 A.H. (18 February, 1560 A.D.) He was a man of excellent conduct and high morals.

5. Abul Makārim was born on 23 Shawwāl, 976 A.H. (9 April, 1569 A.D.) He was truant in the beginning but later learnt a good deal of philosophy and other sciences.

6. Abu Turāb was born on 23 Ḍhilhajj, 988 A.H. (27 January 1581 A.D.) of another mother.

---

1. Ma'athirul Omara, vol.II, p.585.

7. Abul Hāmid was born on 3 Rabi 'uththāni, 1002 A.H. (17 December, 1593 A.D.)

8. Abu Rāshid was born on 1 Jamādi-ul-Awwal, 1002 A.H. (12 January, 1594 A.D.). The seventh and eighth were posthumous, born out of concubines.

Chapter III

Life of Abul Fadl.

Childhood and Education

Abdul Fadl, the second son of Sheikh Mubārak, was born on 6th Muharram, 958 A.H.(14 January,1551 A.D) at Agra. "At the age of a little over one year", says Abul Fadl, "I had the miraculous gift of fluent speech and at the age of five, I had acquired an unusual stock of information and could both read and write. At the age of fifteen I had become the treasurer of my father's store of knowledge".(1) Strangly enough he was averse to conventional learning and ordinary courses of instruction.

We cannot definitely name the books which Abul Fadl must have studied in his school career. From casual references in the contemporary literature and in Abul Fadl's own writings we can say that normally the following books in different subjects were included in the curricula of that period. Abul Fadl recommends the following books to the son of Abdul Hayee for study. (2)

The Mutawwal (3); the Hidāyah (4); the Minār (5); the Bazdavi (6); the Hashiyah Mutāle' (7), the Jāmi (8) Shātibi (9), Mukhtasar (10)

1. Mukātabāt-i-'Allāmi, p.342; Ain, vol.III,p.276-77.
2. Ruq 'at, p.78.
3. Mutawwal. A commentary of Sa'duddin Mas'ūd b. 'Umar at taftāzāni (d.792 A.H.) on the Talkhisul Miftāh of Sheikh Muhammad b. Abdur Rahmān Al Qazwini(d.739 A.H.)
4. Al hidāyah-Sharhil Bidāyah by Burhanuddin Abul Hasan 'Ali b. Abi Bakr almarghināni (530-593 A.H.) Marghinān is a town of Farghāna in Transoxiana.
5. Minārul Anwār by Abul Barakāt Abdullah b. Ahmad an Nasafi (710 A.H.)
6. 'Usūl or Kanzul Wusūl ilā Ma'rafatil usūl by 'Ali b. Muhammad Albazdawi (482 A.H.------).
7. Lawāmi-'ul Asrār Sharhi Mutāli'ul Anwār by Qutbuddin Razi (766 A.H.----)
8. Sharh-i-Jāmi 'alal Kāfiyah au alfawā 'idud diya' 'iyyah by Nuruddin Abdur Rahmān Jami (817-898 A.H.)
9. Shātibi. Hirzul Amāni fi wajhit tahāni, a peom on recitation and intonation of Qur'an by Abu Muhammad Al Qasim abu Fira b. Khalf Shatibi (538-590 A.H.)
10. Mukhtasarul Mutawwat 'ala Talkhisul Miftāh by Mas'ūd b. 'Umar Sa'duddin Taftāzāni (722-793).

the Waqāyah (1), the Sharh-i-Shamsiyya (2). Shaikh ʿAbdul Haq, the author of the Akhbārul Akhyār (compiled in 999 A.H.), refers to the following books generally studied in the schools:-

The Qur'an, the Mizānus Sarf (3a), the Misbāh (4), the Kāfiya (5), the Mukhtasarātun Nahv (6), the Lub(7), the Irshād (8), the Sharh-i-Shamsiyya (9), the Sharh-i-ʿAqā'id-Nasafi (10), the Mukhtasar (11) and the Mutawwal (12). The Gulistān and the Būstān by Sa'di and the Divān-i-Hāfiz were among the Persian tests studied at that time.

Abdul Qadir Badayuni refers to Sharh-i-Waqāyah in jurisprudence (13) the Sharh-i-Sahā'if in scholastic science (14), the Tahqiq in the principles of jurisprudence (15) and the Kanz (16) in Hanafite jurisprudence as text books which he studied with different teachers in his academic career.

---

1. Waqāyahtur Riwāyan fi Masā'ilul Hidāyah by Burhānuddin Mahmud.
2. Tahrīrul Qawā'idul Mantiqiyyah fi Sharh-i-Risāla tishsham-siyyah by Qutbuddin Muhammad b. Muhammad Razi (766-..).
3. Akhbārul Akhyār, p.311-312.
3a. Mizanus Sarf. A common text book of grammar, the author is not known.
4. Almisbāh fin Nahv by Abul Fath Nasīruddin b. Abdus Sayyid Almatrizi (538-610 A.H.)
5. Alkāfiyah fin nahv by Abu ʿAmr Uthmān b. ʿUmar known as Ibn-i-Hājib (570-646 A.H.).
6. Mukhtasarun Nahv by Hamiddin Abul Hasan ʿAli b. Muhammad Al Quhistani al Bukhāri. (666 ----?A.H.)
7. Lubbul Albāb fi ʿIlmul Aʿrāb by Nāsiruddin ʿAbdullah b. ʿUmar al Baidāvi (685 A.H.----?)
8. Irshād by Qādi Shihābuddin Daulatābādi.
9. Refer to note 2 above.
10. Sharh-i-ʿala ʿAqā'idun Nasafi of Abi Hafs ʿUmar An Nasafi, by At taftazani (722-793 A.H.)
11. and 12. Refer to f.n. p.46.
13. Sharh-i-Waqāyah by ʿUbaidullah b. Masʿūd (Sadrush Sharia the younger (747 A.H.----?)
14.

15. At tahqīq or sharh-il Husāmi by Abul Aziz Buhari (710--- ?)
16. Kanzud Daqā'iq by Abul Barakāt ʿAbdullah b. Ahmad Nasafi 710 A.H.--?)
17. Muntakhab, vol. III, p.84,56,2, vol. I, p.334.

ʿAbdul Qādir has also informed us that only the Sharḥ-Shamsiyya in logic and the Sharḥ-i-Sahāif in scholastic science used to be taught in schools. Shaikh ʿAbdullah and Shaikh Azīzullah Multāni, the two brothers left Multān for upper India and introduced the teaching of contemplative sciences in schools. (1)

Abul Ḥasanāt Nadvi has summed up the series of text books which used to be taught in the 8th century of Hijra, as under:- (2)

Grammar and syntax: The Misbāh; the Kāfiyah; the Lubbul Albāb and the Irshād.

Jurisprudence: The Hidāyah.

Principles of Jurisprudence: The Minār and its glosseries; Uṣūl-i-Bazdavi.

Exegesis. The Madārik (3); the Baidāvi (4); and the Kashshāf (5) Ḥādīth . The Mashāriqul Anwār (6); the Maṣābihu Sunnah (7) i.e. the text of Mishkātul Maṣābīḥ. Sufism. The ʿAwāriful Maʿārif (8); the Fuṣuṣul Ḥikam (9) and the Lamʿāt (10), the Naqdun Nuṣūṣ (11).

---

1. Muntakhab, I, p.324.
2. Hindustān ki qadim Islāmi darsgāhin, p.95-96.
3. Madārikut Tanzīl wa Ḥaqā'iqut tāvīl by Abul Barakāt ʿAbdullah b. Aḥmad Nasafi (710- ?)

4. Anwārut Tanzīl wa Asrārut Ta'vīl by Nāṣiruddin ʿAbdullah b. ʿUmar Al Baidāvi (685-- ?)

5. Alkashshāf an haqāiqit Tanzīl by Maḥmud b. ʿUmar Jārullah Zamakhshari (467-538 A.H.).

6. Mashāriqul Anwārin Nabaviyyah min Siḥāhil Akhbārul Mustafawiyyah by Raḍiyuddin Abul Faḍā'il Hasan b. Muhammad al ʿUmri As ṣighāni (577-650 A.H.)

7. Maṣābīhus Sunnah by Abu Muhammad al Ḥusain b. Masʿūd al Baghwi (516 A.H. --- ?)

8. Anwārul Maʿārif by Abu Hafs ʿUmar b. Muhammad Shihābuddin Suhrawardi (539-632 A.H.)
9. Fuṣuṣūl Ḥikam by Abu Hafs Muhyiddin Muhammad b. ʿAli known as Ibn-i-ʿArabi (560-638 A.H.)

10. Lamʿāt by Fakhruddin Ibrāhim ʿIrāqi, a mystic poet, (624-709 A.H.)

11. Naqdun Nuṣus fi Sharh -i-Naqshi fuṣūṣ by Nūruddin Abdur Rahman Jāmi (817-898 A.H.)

Arabic literature: The Maqamat-i-Hariri (1).

Logic: The Sharh-i-Shamsiyyah.

Scholastic theology: The Sharh-i-Saha'if.

Later on in the 10th century the Mutale'(2) and the Mawaqif (3) and its commentaries, the Mutawwal, the Mukhtasar, the Talwih (4), the Sharh-i-Aqa-'id-i-Nasafi, the Sharh-i-Waqayah and Sharh-i-Jami were added to the above books (5).

For ten years Abul Fadl learnt and taught, day in and day out, unmindful of pleasure and pain. Sometimes he was too absorbed in his studies to take his meals for two or three days, which was really very strange.(6)

In his letter to his friend, he exults in the past memories of his studious life. He wrote, "I used to wake up at night and study the glosses and commentaries upon a portion of the lesson, which was the subject of teaching, the following day. At that moment, in the presence of the teachers and the colleagues, I used to explain the minute points of the difficult lesson and distinguish myself and receive the applause of one and all".(7). He became conversant with the ancient writers and could explain the difficulties to the learned people. Early in his academic career he pointed out the faults of an ancient writer but due to his tender age, the elderly scholars did not believe him. Once when he was commenting on the Mutawwal of Mulla Sa'duddin At Taftazani and its gloss by Sayyid Sharif (8) his

---

1. Maqamat-i-Hariri by Abu Muhammad al Qasim b. Ali Alhariri (446-516 A.H.)
2. Matali'ul Anwar by Sirajuddin Abuhthana Muhammad b. Abi Bakr al 'Urmavi (594-682 A.H.)
3. Almawaqif fi Ilmul Kalam by Abdur Rahman b.Ahmad Adduddin al Iji (701-756 A.H.)
4. At Talwih fi Kashfi Haqa'iqit tanqih by Mas'ud b.Umar at taftazani (722-793 A.H.)
5. Hindustan ki qadim Islami darsgahin,(p.98-99)
6. Ruqqa'at, p.277.
7. Ibid. p.151.
8. Sayyid Sharif Jurjani (704-816 A.H.) An eminent scholar of his age. Born at Jurjan but later settled at Shiraz. He is author of many books on Jurisprudence, logic, grammar and rehtoric and scholastic theology.

friends noted down the comments. Afterwards the glossary on the Muṭawwal by Abul Qāsim Bin Abi Bakr Smarqandi was brought in. The same points were found therein. All were surprised at his correct observation. (1)

Once he got hold of the gloss of Ispahāni (2), on the Muṭawwal, more than half of which had been eaten up by white ants. He joined blank pages to the omitted portion and after one contemplation, keeping in view the beginning and end of each fragment, wrote down the missing part of it by mere conjecture. In the meanwhile a complete manuscript of the book was available. When both copies were compared, a few words but with variant synonyms only were detected in two or three places. Three or four citations were different, but were approximate in sense. All who noticed this were astounded (3).

He was a lover of books. He collected books on all subjects and acquainted himself with the tenets of all creeds. He never gave up this habit of study, even late in his court life, when he remained almost always engaged in his multiferious duties. This fact is evident from the various note books he prepared and the introductions or epilogues he wrote on the writings of others. Many of these miscellaneous observations have been preserved in the third volume of the Mukātabāt-i-ʿAllāmi.

Abul Faḍl was very much indebted to his father for his scholastic learning and mental equipment. His father lavished more affection on Abul Fadl than on others.

Abul Faḍl also studied Mathematics, Physics and all the branches of Philosophy in private, under Shaikh

1. & 3. Āin, III, p.277-78.
2. The name of the author is not known. We find his gloss referred to by the author of the Kashfuẓẓunūn an 'Asmā' il Kutub-i-wal funūn, vol.VII, p.498.

Ḥasan Mūṣli, a scholar from Irān, and gained an insight into the deep problems of the sciences.(1) He learnt the creed of Platonists and Sufis and got acquainted with the observations of Peripatetics.(2) He became dissatisfied with the deceptive world and was captivated by anchorites and hermits.(3) He spent days in the doldrums of joy and grief with a dejected mind. He speaks of his wavering mind in the Akbar-nāmeh, in the following straint :-

"During my academic career I was in search of truth and hoped to find out reality but my desire was not realized. When I became master of intellectual and traditional sciences and viewed the literature of our predecessors with critical eye, I met with great disappointment. My anxiety increased and instead of disillusionment, my search for knowledge developed. In spite of the fact that I discussed, at length, with the wise of the age and studied the old masters of learning, my inner urge was not satisfied".(4) His perturbed soul had no rest. "Sometimes," he states, "My heart was drawn towards the sages of Cathay, ascetics of Lebanon. At times, I longed for conversation with Lamas of Tibbet and conference with the Mubids of Persia. Thirst for knowledge of the secrets of Zand Avesta often rubbed me of my rest".(5)

There seems to have been a conflict in Abul Fadl's mind at this stage. On the one hand he was well versed in traditional dogmas of theology and on the other hand he was strictly of a scientific bent of mind, born of his rationalism. He would not reconcile himself to the commonly accepted versions of theology. Down deep in his mind there were all sorts of doubts which seem to have made him a sceptic. This is quite natural with the acquirement of scientific knowledge and the

1. Muntakhab, III, p.133
2. A.N. vol.II, p387.
3. Ibid. p.304.
4. Ibid. p.304.
5. A.N., III, p.84.

consequent quickening of a spirit of enquiry, yet traditionally theology was not such a thing as he could easily throw away. He was born into the inheritance of it. Nevertheless it could not, intellectually give him complete satisfaction. Thus mentally disturbed he became a still more enthusiastic seeker after truth.

Entry in the Court.

In 982 A.H.(1574 A.D.) when his brother, Feiḍi and other friends made a proposal to Abul Fadl to the effect that he should concede to serve the Emperor Akbar but he declined on account of his disturbed soul. He thought that external entaglements of society were destructive to the tranquility of mind. But, his father impressed upon him the future prospects of serving the king who was the spiritual and temporal lord. He could not disappoint his father and, therefore, gave in. He wrote a commentary on the Āyatul Kursi (آیۃ الکرسی) a passage of the Qur'ān (1) and presented himself before Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri, in the year 1574 A.D.(2) The Emperor received him graciously. As he was engaged in the conquest of Eastern Provinces i.e. Bengal and Bihar in those days, he did not take much notice of him. During the spring of the same year, Abul Fadl waited upon the Emperor a second time. After the conquest of the Eastern Provinces, he was invited by the Emperor to join the court but he could not make up his mind owing to his lack of appreciation for pomp and show of court life and his desire for peace and tranquility in solitude and realm of knowledge. One night in his dream he saw the victory of the Royal Army over the Afghāns and the downfall of Dāood Qarārāni, the last ruler of Bengal (1572-1576 A.D) as vividly as if he was actually a participant in that compaign. Thus he was inspired to serve the king. In the meanwhile the Emperor returned to Ajmer after the conquest. Abul Fadl was invited to come and see the king.

1. The Qur'ān, chapter 2, verses 255-57.
2. Ibid. chapter 48.

He offered the commentary of sureh Feth of the Qur'ān(1) as a present. Tafsīr-i-Akbari was the chronogram which indicated the date of its composition as 983 A.H.(2)

---

1. A.N. vol.III, p.85.
2. Muntakhab, II,p.198.

CHAPTER IV.

Life at Court.

Munshi (state correspondent)

At first Abul Fadl was taken into service as a Munshi (epistolographer). All the employees of the court had to enter military service and start from the lowest rank except religious scholars who had the option to accept a monthly allowance or a grant of land for maintenance. Mullā Abdul Qādir Badāyūni, a pupil of Sheikh Mubarak, had also joined the court but did not bind himself to military obligations and remained a mulla throughout his career and got no increment in his salary. Abul Fadl was wise and he accepted the military rank. He was given the rank of a Bisti (commander of twenty). The man who got himself enrolled in the army was required to keep a contingent of horse and beasts of burden. A salary of Rs.35/- was attached to this office.(1) As a Munshi he was required to write official letters to the rulers of foreign countries, governors and other officers of the state. In this capacity he displayed great ability, knowledge and excellent technique of writing. His methods of expressing the policy of the state and the mind of the Emperor, were very forceful, and convincing and thus he gained appreciation of the Emperor. This work brought him nearer to the king and enabled him to know the secrets of the state and finally to become the spokesman of the Emperor. Later on he became the chief munshi and dealt with the most confidential correspondence of the Empire, a most important work which formed part of his duty throughout his life. We will discuss the merits of his letter-writing i.e. Inshā-pardāzi, seperately in a chapter when we take up the review of his literary work entitled the Mukātabāt-i-'Allāmi and the Ruqqa'āt-i-Abul Fadl, both collections of his official and non-official letters and other miscellaneous writings.

1. Āin, I. p.186.

Secretary and Counsellor. His sincerity, superior intellect and great learning, won him the confidence of the Emperor. He was admitted into his counsels. Nothing was decided without his consultations. From the post of a secretary he rose to the position of a minister, the Prime Minister and practically the Chancellor of the State. He held no special port-folio but had his voice in all the consultations of the council chamber. He accompanied the King wherever he went. Very few particulars are known about the suggestions and recommendations he made in the set-up of the administration and the policy of the state. As an official historian he was at a great disadvantage. During the life time of the Emperor, "he was bound in an oriental courtesy and rules of official etiquette, to attribute everything to the master whom he faithfully served".(1) Nevertheless we find the mind of Abul Fadl at work in the words put forth on behalf of the Emperor, in the letters addressed to the army officers, governors, the princes and the foreign rulers about the administration and other state affairs .

Apart from his regular attendance upon the Emperor, he was entrusted with other duties of general nature. When the Jesuit Mission arrived in the Court, he was entrusted with their welfare and asked to look after their comfort and needs. He taught Persian to priest Rudolf. Fire was kept kindled day and night in the palace,according to the practice of the Zoroastrians, under his supervision.(2) In 986 A.H. (1578 A.D.) while Akbar was on his journey to Ajmer, he was detailed to collect cows from the suburbs. In 989 A.H. (1581 A.D.) while Akbar was on his way to Kābul to punish Ḥakīm Mirza, his foster brother and the ruler of Kābul, many army commanders were hesitant and unwilling to proceed to Kābul, owing to the fact that Hakim Mirza had sent his messengers

Agent to the Emperor.

1. Abdul Qādir, Journal of the University of the Panjab Historical Society, vol.I, p.31.
2. Muntakhab, p.223. (N.K.Edn.)

begging forgiveness and offering his unconditional surrender. The Emperor wished to settle this issue once for all in order to stop day to day worries from this side of the frontier. Abul Faḍl was appointed to approach all the officers, discuss the situation with them, obtain their opinion and submit a report to the Emperor. In 990 A.H. (1581 A.D.) he was in charge of woolen trade. In 994 A.H. (1586 A.D.) two officers were appointed in every province so that if one came to the court or fell ill, the other would go and look after the work in his absence. Delhi was made over to Shah Quli and Abul Faḍl.

Ṣadr.

At the suspension of Shaikh Abdun Nabi, the Ṣadruṣ Ṣudūr, the department of Sayurghāls (1) was taken over by the Emperor himself. He ordered those who held more than 500 bighas of land, to bring their farmans to the court. The work of overhauling and administering this department was made over to Abul Fadl for impartial distribution of the state bounty. And he did a really excellent work with an honest purpose to serve the deserving men of learning and the true dervishes.

Incharge of Record Office.

He was also incharge of the Daftar Khaneh or Record Office and directed the staff of officials who were busily engaged in drawing up innumerable reports and arranging the state records in the pigeonholes recessed in the massive stone walls of the building. It was connected by a corridor with Akbar's private apartment so that the minister could quickly run over for the king's orders and lay before him the daily reports of the state business.(2)

Administrator.

In 1597 A.D. Akbar paid a visit to Kashmir. It was reported that owing to the oppression of land-lords the common man was in very straintened circumstances and a very severe draught was prevailing. On learning this, he appointed Abul Faḍl to detail a party of well-informed and honest clerks to all the districts of

1. Sayurghāls. grants of land for charitable purpose.
2. Havell, the History of Aryans p.476-77; Āin, pp.192-195.

Kashmir to remit the previous revenue and prepare a record of the settlement of land according to the produce of the soil. Abul Faḍl did his best to ameliorate the condition of the people. He divided Kashmir into 14 parganahs. To ease the food situation, he engaged the carriers or muleteers to transport the grain to the twelve centers or depots in the city, to be distributed among the poor and the indigent. On Sundays, a considerable sum of money was given away to the needy out of the royal treasury. It was calculated that twenty thousand persons received the stipend every Sunday. In a short period, the Kashmiris who ate the flesh of each other out of hunger, gained a new lease of life.(1)

Tutor. In 1591 A.D. he was entrusted with the tuition of Sultan Khusro, son of Prince Salim.

Jahāngīr refers to another work entrusted to him. He states, "My father had given Sheikh Abul Faḍl gold of the weight of 20,000 rupees to build an embankment between the two parganahs i.e. Sultānpur and Nakodar (Panjab) and prepare a waterfall".(2)

Court Historian and Translator. In addition to other engagements at the Court his time was occupied in writing history and other literary works, under the orders of the Emperor. He collected the material and started writing the Akbarnāmah, the official history in 1590 A.D. and continued adding events year by year till the end of his life. He completed the Āīn-i-Akbari in 1598 A.D. He abridged and rewrote, in simple prose, the Anwār-i-Suhaili by Ḥusain Wā'iz Kāshifi and the Tuṭi-Nāmah by Nakhshabi. He translated the Gita and the Bible.

Mr. Abdul Ghani mentions, "The Kishan Joshi and Mahesh Mahānad", among the other sanskrit books which were translated by Abul Faḍl.(3) He has not

1. Iqbālnāmah, p.457.
2. Tuzk-i-Jahāngīri, translation by Rogers and Beverige, p.135-36.
3. History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court, Pt.III, p.34.

mentioned any authority on the basis of which he attributes those translations to AbulFaḍl. Obviously he has relied on the incorrect text of __Āīn-i-Akbari__ edited by H.Blochmann, which runs as follows :-

لختی زیج جدید میرزائی را بدیده وری امیر فتح الله شیرازی و ترجمانی راقم اقبال نامه
کشن جوشی گنگادهر مهیس مهانند از هندی بفارسی آوردند (1)

Mr. Blochmann rendered it into English as under :-

" A part of __Zīch Jadīd-i-Mīrzāī__ (vide III book,Ain I) was translated under the superintendence of Amīr Fatḥullāh Shīrāzi and also the __Kishan Joshi__, __the Gangādhar__, __the Mahesh Mahānand__, from Hindi (Sanskrit) into Persian (2) according to the interpretation of the writer of the auspicious book (Tr. Ain-i-Akbari, vol.I,p.104)".

Both the text and the translation are incorrect, ambiguous and misleading. Actually the __Zīch-i-Jadīd Mīrzāī__ was in Persian and not in Hindi (Sanskrit). __Kishan Joshi__, __Gangādhar__ and __Mahesh Mahānand__ are not the names of the books but the names of the Hindu Scholars who helped to translate the book in Hindi on the explanation of Mīr Fatḥullāh Shīrāzi and interpretation of Abul Fadl from Persian into Hindi. This fact is testified by the accurate version of the lines in the __Āīn-i-Akbari__ as edited by Sayyid Ahmad, which runs as follows :-

لختی زیج جدید میرزائی بدیده وری امیر فتح الله شیرازی و ترجمانی راقم اقبال نامه و کشن
جوتشی و گنگادهر و مهیس و مهانند از فارسی بهندی آوردند (3)

"A part of the __Zīj-i-Jadīd-i-Mīrzāī__ was translated from Persian into Hindi by Kishan Jotshi (astrologer), Gangā Dhar, Mahes and Mahānand on the insight of Mir Fathullah Shirazi and interpretation of the writer of this auspicious book."

All this literary work was taken up and

---

1. __Āīn__, Pt.I, p.115.
2. __Tr Āīn-i-Akbari__, vol.I, p.104.
3. __Āīn-i-Akbari__ edited by Sayyid Ahmad (Delhi Edn)p.82.

completed by him under the orders of Akbar. There are other works which were compiled or written by him in his spare time of his own accord. We will take up his writings one by one and review them in a separate chapter.

Participant in Religious discussions at court.

Abdul Fadl was intellectually superior to all other scholars at the court. He had studied the Qur'an, the Traditions, the Exigeses, Jurisprudence, Logic and all the conventional curricula and was fully equipped to stand every test of discussion and debate. He was not a blind follower of secterian views but held an independent opinion on every subject and possessed breadth of vision and a spirit of tolerance towards others faith. His entry in the court was a shock to the orthodox religious scholars. The high handed acts of oppression and religious persecution perpetrated by Makhdumul Mulk and the Chief Sadr had offended Akbar and Rajput grandees. The spirit of dissatisfaction against the traditional and conventional religion was rising high in him. He wished to know the true significance of all things. In the following year of Abul Fadl's entry in the court, i.e. 1576 A.D. the 'Ibadat Khana was instituted. On Thursday nights the scholars assembled and every disputable subject came under heated discussion, thus the conflicting points were sifted and statements verified. Nurul Haq writes that Akbar said, "My sole object, Oh Wise Mullas, is to ascertain truth, to find out and disclose the principles of the genuine religion and to trace it to its Divine Origin".(1) But the tide of mutual wrangles and dissentions of the religious and the learned rose to such pitch that they vilified and condemned each other as heretics and infidels. They were divided among themselves. "The Makhdumul Mulk wrote a Treatise

1. Zubdatut Tawarikh, Ms. fol. 166a.

to the effect that the execution of Khiḍr Khān and Mīr Ḥabsh on charges of blashphemy (1) and heretical views(2) was unwarranted, as it was not based on a proper interpretation of religious cannons. And that, to follow the congregational prayers after him, was unlawful because he was suffering from piles and he was disinherited by his father. Abdun Nabi, in his own defence, condemned the Makhdūmul Mulk as ignorant and misguided" (3). "The king,"states Badāyūni, "had a highly developed sense of discrimination, and was in search of truth and reality, but instead he was surprised at the creation (4) of doubts. In these debates/or discussions Abul Faḍl had the fullest opportunity to establish his superiority of knowledge and intellect. His clear logic and forceful and convincing arguments often upset the other party and drove them to seek shelter in lame apologia. The Ṣadr, the Qāḍi, the Ḥakīmul Mulk(5), and the Makhdumul Mulk", says Badāyūni,"sent a secret message through Āṣif Khan Mīr Bakhshi, to the effect that he (Abul Faḍl) should not pick up a row with them". (6) Badayuni further adds, "Abul Fadl brought every one of them to disgrace and degradation, through his forceful debating lactics, advice of his father, support of the king, and his own good fortune. No body, among the Muslim scholars, except Ḥakīm Abul Fatḥ(7) and Mullā Muḥammad Yezdi(8)

1. Muntakhab, II, p.155.
2. Ibid.I, p.198, 255.
3. & 4. Muntakhab, p.221 (N.K. Edn.)
5. Ḥakīmul Mulk, Shamsuddin Ḥakīmul Mulk belonged to Gilan. One of the very learned doctors of Akbar's Court. At the time when innovations commenced at the Court he left for Mecca in 988 A.H., where he died. (Āin, Tn. p.542.)
6. Muntakhab, p.224 (N.K. Edn.)
7. Ḥakim Abul Fatḥ. Masīḥuddin Abul Fatḥ, distinguished brother of Hakim Humam and Hakim Nuruddin. Came to India in 1567 A.H. He was appointed Amin and Sadr of Bengal. Though a commander of 1000 yet he gained great influence in state affairs. Died in 1590 A.D. He was a great patron of letters. Urfi and Faidi wrote eulogies for him.
8. Mullā Muhammad of Yezd. Came from Persia in 983 A.H. was an orthodox shi'a. He used to revile the(continued)

could rival him in the discussion of certain problems". By and by the ecclesiastical authority was wrested out of their hands.

We have no record of the debates or discussions held among the learned, and especially the points raised by Abul Fadl. The author of the Dabistān-i-Madhāhib, has tried to reproduce the debates held between the protogonists of the different schools of thought, but, most of the points raised and answered to them, appear to be imaginary, as the book was written nearly fifty years after the death of Akbar, i.e. in 1055 A.H.

From one or two arguments made by Abul Fadl or questions asked by him, we notice, how intelligent, forceful, stringent and unanswerable were the objections, he raised. For instance, relates Badāyūni, "Once, Abul Fadl said to me, we [illegible] have a complaint against all the authors to the effect that they did not write in detail about the biography of other prophets as they chronicled the life history of Muhammad, year by year. And why did they not write an account of the life of the members of the prophet's (Muḥammad) family (آل بیت)in the menologies they compiled, whereas they have given the biography of each and every craftsman. It is a matter of surprise". (1) Both these points are facts and very seldom occurred to other scholars. Badāyūni says that he tried to answer his queries. But there is no satisfactory reply to them. Another point has been mentioned by the author of the Ma'āthirul Umarā. He states," on an anniversary, saffron had been sprinkled on the royal garment. Shaikh Abdun Nabi flew

---

(Continued from previous page) .....first caliphs of the prophet. Later he was chief Qadi of Jaunpur. He announced rebellion against the emperor as lawful and was drowned in Jamni in 1579.

---

1. A.N. Vol.III, p.493.

into rage on seeing it and wielded his staff in such a manner that it struck the skirt of Akbar and tore it off. This was bitterly resented by the Emperor. One day, a saffrom anointed dish was laid on the table. As soon as Shaikh Abdun Nabi had eaten out of it, Shaikh Abul Fadl remarked, "Oh Shaikh if saffron was lawful, why did you reprimand the Emperor. If it was unlawful why did you eat it; you must know that its effect would last for 3 days".(1)

In 1579 A.D. the Emperor was proposed to be not only the temporal head but also an ecclesiastical leader and the final authority on the disputed points on which the jurists could not agree upon. Consequently that very important document, which authorise the Emperor to be a religious head (the text of which has been given in Chapter II), was drafted and signed by the chief religious scholars of the times. Though Abul Fadl did not append his signature to the document yet we see him in agreement with the views expressed therein. He could not have remained aloof from this decisive action in which his father was the chief mover. He himself held the opinion that "the state and the religion are twins" (2) They could not be separated into two different categories. The state is also responsible for enforcing the Laws of God. The church and the state should not have parallel governments. This is the key note to the Islamic conception of the state. A person cannot be appointed as a head of the state unless he combines in himself the political wisdom, piety and the knowledge of the Laws of God. Abu Bakr Ṣiddīq, ʻUmar, ʻUthmān and ʻAlī, the first four Caliphs were selected on the basis of these qualifications. As soon as kingship entered the Islamic state the religious matters came under the control of a group of

1. Ma'āthirul Umarā, vol.II, p.562.
2. A.N. vol. III, p.498.

Court 'Ulamā. The king tried to please them and they, in return, asked the people for absolute submission to their sovereign. A poet philosopher of the calibre of Sir Muḥammad Iqbāl held the same opinion in our times, when he said, "In Islam the spiritual and the temporal are not two distinct domains.... It is not true to say that church and state are two sides or facets of the same thing. Islam is a single unanalysable reality".(1)

From 1578 A.D. onwards, the 'Ibādat Khāna became the meeting place of not only Muslim Ṣūfīs and saints but also the rallying place of the exponents of different religious faiths. The Parsees, the Brahmans, the Jains, the Christians came and extolled the virtues of their respective faiths. Every representative of a particular school of thought tried his best to win the heart of the Emperor to his own faith. Very many aspects of religious belief were discussed in different meetings. Abul Fadl listened to and participated in these debates. His long cherished desire "to hear the sages of Cathay, and Padris of Portugal, the learned of Zand Avesta etc." appears to have been fulfilled by being afforded the opportunity to attend the meetings of the 'Ibādat Khāna. Akbar selected, owned and practised, the good of every religion, which appealed to him. In 1582-83 A.D. the Dīn-i-Ilāhi (2) was established and a new era of innovations set in. Akbar grew averse to the prevalent, traditional and conventional Islam. We will take up this issue later when we discuss Abul Fadl's relationship to the Dīn-i-Ilāhi.

1. Reconstruction of religious thought in Islam, p.146.
2. The genesis of Dīn-i-Ilāhi has been fully explained in the book entitled the Dīn-i-Ilāhi by Roy Chaudhri; the religious policy of the Mughal Emperor by Sri Ram Sharma, p.1-60; an article by J.N. Siha, in the J.I.H., 1930, p.23 and in the Nigār, Urdu monthly, Lucknow, May and August, 1954.

CHAPTER V.

Exposition of Abul Fadl's religious faith.

1. Abul Fadl's responsibility for the diversion of Akbar's mind from Islam.

Abul Fadl has often been accused of diverting Akbar from Islam. The chief accuser is his colleague Abdul Qadir Badayuni; other Muslim writers followed him or arrived at their own conclusions in the light of the new regulations and the laws which Akbar enacted. Badāyūnī says, "The bastard Bir Bar (1), Shaikh Abul Fadl and Hakīm Abul Fath took a further step and diverted him (Akbar) from religion (Islam) and led him to reject revelation, prophethood, miracles and religious law . (2)

The whole responsibility of Akbar's views cannot be put on Abul Fadl's shoulders. Akbar was not so tame a thinker as would subscribe to the dictates of every-one of his associates. He fully realized the importance of the action he was taking. He had formed definite views about the manner in which religious and political ideas should be enforced for the betterment of the country. Pursuing this trend he had abolished poll tax in 1564 A.D. and the pilgim tax in 1563 A.D. on the Hindus long before the entry of Abul Fadl to the court in 1574 A.D. Badāyūnī himself had mentioned nearly all the persons who particularly provided a religious authority for Akbar's actions as is revealed by the following quotations. Thus it is abundantly clear that the accuser himself has refuted his own allegations.

---

1. Bīr Bar. He was Bhāt Brahman, Mahesh Dās by name and hailed from Kālpi. He was renowned for his wit, humour and Hindi poetry which won him the title of Kavi Rāi (poet laureate). He became favourite with Akbar and enjoyed liberality on account of his sparkling wit and musical skill. He was awarded the title of Rāja Bīr Bar and Nagarkot was given him as a Jāgīr. He was often employed in missions but spent his time chiefly at Court. In 1588 A.D. he was sent with reinforcement to fight Yūsufzāīs in Bijor and Swat states of N.W.F.P. and was killed there. He was the only Hindu member of Din-i-Ilahi.
2. Muntakhab, p.205.

We learn for instance that Akbar's faith in Islam was shaken by the contradictory statements and mutual slanderings of the religious law givers. Badayuni states,"One thing made lawful by certain scholars, was declared unlawful by others and this provided him(Akbar) with an excuse for the rejection of both the views". (1)

"Sheikh Tājuddin son of Sheikh Zakriyyā Ajudhani, a renowned ṣūfi called Tājul 'Ārifīn,"says Badāyūni,"was pulled up on a cot, near the bed chamber, and the Emperor listened to the blasphemous utterences and bagatelles of the ṣūfis through far fetched interpretation of the Qur'ānic verses and the traditions of the Prophet. He pronounced the Caliph of the age (Akbar) as the perfect man (انسانِ کامل) and proposed a prostration and called it zamīnbūs".(2) He further declared that Sheikh Tājuddin was the principal culprit who weakened His Majesty's faith in the tenets of our religion. (3)

Sheikh Yaqūb Kashmīrī (4) stated that Muḥammad the Apostle of God (May God's peace and blessings be upon him) is the manifestation of the name of "Al hādi" (the guide) and Satan, the manifestation of the name of "Al Muḍḍil" (misleader). And both these names have become manifest in this world" (5)

---

1. Ibid, p.221
2. Muntakhab, p.222. (N.K. Edn.)
3. Ibid. vol.II, p.256 (Calcutta Edn.)
4. Yaqub Kashmiri. He was a sufi of great order, well read in all branches of religious learning. Studied Hadith with Ibn-i-Hajar, the great Imām. He was a poet with pen name of Ṣarfi and had written ṣufistic rubā'iyāt and the Khamsa. The Emperor had great confidence in him. He died in 1003 A.H.
5. Muntakhab, p.223. (N.K. Edn.)

"Hāji Ibrāhīm Sirhindi (1), states Badāyūni, "interpolated in a worm eaten book, a passage and attributed it to Shaikh Ibn-i-ʿArabi (may God glorify his secret).It related that the "Lord of the age" (صاحب زمان) would have many wives and shave his beard. He mentioned a few other things which the Emperor had adopted for himself " (2).

"Some of the very mean scholars", says Badayuni, "gave their opinion based on false arguments to the effect that the Emperor was the 'Lord of the age', who would eliminate all the differences prevailing among the sevently two sects of the Muslims. Sharīf Āmuli(3) produced certain treatises written by Mahmūd Naskhwāni, (4) as evidence wherein it was prophesied that in 999 A.H. (1590 A.D.) a man would appear, who would be the destroyer of falsehood" (5)

---

1. Hāji Ibrāhīm Sirhindi. An intelligent mullā of Akbar's court; a debater in the discussions of the ʿIbādat Khāneh. Translated Atharban, one of the four Divine books of Hindus. He misbehaved towards Abul Fadl and Hakim Abul Fath and was sent to Ranthambur, where he died in 994 A.H.

2. Muntakhab, p.229 (N.K. Edn.)

3. Mīr Sharīf Āmuli. He was expelled from Persia on account of his heretic views. He came to India and settled in Deccan but he had no peace. In 984 A.H. he met Akbar in Mālwa and was well received. He was appointed Amin and Sadr of Kābul in 993 A.H. (1585 A.D.) In 1591 he held the same position in Bihar and Bengal. He had risen to the rank of 3000. He wrote a book entitled Tarashshuh-i-Zuhūr consisting of his strange mystic views. Died at Mohan near Laknow. (Ain, Tn. I, p.452)

4. Mahmūd Naskhwāni. He belonged to the village Naskhwān in Gilān. He was the author of Bahro-Kūzeh. He founded the sect of Mahmūdiyye or Nuqtawiyyah and called himself Shaikh-i-Wāhid. He lived about 600 A.H. He had many followers who were later killed or exiled from Persia by Shah ʿAbbās I. (Ain, Tn, I, p.177).

5. Muntakhab, p.233 (N.K. Edn.)

"Khwāja Maulānā Shīrāzi, the heretic Arithomancer, brought a treatise from Mecca, written by a 'Sharīf' of Mecca, which stated that according to the authentic traditions the age of the world, i.e. seven thousand years, had come to an end, and at present, the time for the appearance of the promised Mahdi had come. He himself compiled a treatise, wherein he mentioned many such shi'ic absurdities, which were reported to have been uttered by the Commander of the Faithful 'Ali". (1)

"Some recited the following quatrain ascribed to Hakim Nasir Khusro :

در نه صد و هشتاد و نه از حکم قضا - آیند کواکب از جوانب یکجا
در سال اسد - ماه اسد - روز اسد - از پرده برون خرامد آن شیر خدا

"In the year nine hundred and eighty nine, by the decree of God, the stars will come together in one place. And in the year of Asad, the month of Asad and the day of Asad, that 'Lion of God' will come out of the hidden place".

Hakim Firoz said,"I saw "Nāsir Khusro in my dream. I asked him,"Who is Shir-i-Khudā (the Lion of God) ?".He said, "Jalaluddin Akbar". (2)

In a discussion about Muta'a (limited marriage) Abdul Qadir Badayuni himself pointed the admissibility of this practice. He argued,"Muta'a is permissible by the Shi'as and Imām Mālik, and is unlawful according to Imām Shāfi'ī and Imam A'zam. But if a Mālkite Qāḍi issued an order for its approval, it was also allowed according to the opinion of Imam A'zam. This point was appreciated by Akbar. He at once appointed Qādi Ḥusain 'Arab, the Mālkite and dismissed Qadi Yaqūb, the Ḥanafite. Qādi Ḥusain issued orders for permitting Mut'a according to his own faith. (3)

1. Muntakhab, p.203 (N.K.Edn.)
2. Ma 'athirul Umarā. II, p.390
3. Muntakhab, p.204 (N.K. Edn.)

Ghāzī Khān Badakhshi was the first man who approved the observance of prostration before Akbar. It is quite surprising to learn that Mullā ʿAlīm Kābuli, a learned man of the age, used to say with regret, "Alas, I could not have the privilege of being the first to introduce it". (1)

These important details mostly supplied by a contemporary, hostile to both Akbar and Abul Faḍl, clearly indicate that it was not Abul Faḍl who was responsible for the diversion of Akbar from Islam, but other Court Sychophants were also responsible for these heretic views.

Badayuni has mentioned other persons, of other communities like Bīr Bar, Parkhotam and Deva, the Brahmans, the Pārsīs, the Jains who exercised so great an influence on the Emperor that he began to believe in the transmigration of souls, (2) continual burning of the sacred fire according to the practice of zoroastrian (3) worshipping of the Sun and the adoption of many of their religious rites and festivals. All this influence was foreign and Akbar accepted and approved of all these things of his own free will and accord. In the face of this conclusive evidence one cannot safely assort that Abul Faḍl alone persuaded Akbar to accept certain tenets of Hinduism, Zoroastrianism etc. in place of Islamic canons.

Akbar had also placed a very high ideal before himself. He realized that nearly all the Muslim rulers in India had been regarded as foreigners. They had little hold on the common people, least to say, on their hearts. He wished to set up a national government with himself as the central figure, father of the

1 Muntakhab, p.221-22 (N.K. Edn.)
2. Ibid. p.223
3. Ibid. p.223

people so that he could command the fidelity and sympathy of all the religious communities. To achieve the end he and his son married the daughters of Hindu Rajput chiefs. He gave Hindus responsible posts in civil and the military departments. He gave freedom of worship and observance of religious rites to all the communities. Paying respect to the instinct of hero-worship amongst the common people he brought them nearer to himself by indulging lavish charities. "He borrowed", writes Frederick August, "from all creeds so that stepping beyond all he may give to all a point of union in the person of the sovereign, the symbol of the state ".(1)

2. Abul Faḍl's own faith in Islam.

Badāyūni has condemned Abul Fadl as an heretic and villain of the piece. While writing under the year 991 A.H. (1583 A.D.) in his history, he relates, "The prayers, the fast and the Ḥaj pilgrimage had already been discarded. Some of the bastards like Abul Fadl son of Mullā Mubārak wrote some articles supported by Arguments, riduculing these modes of worship and met with the approval and appraciation of the Emperor".(2) To revoke and renounce these obligatory commandments, for the Muslims, means a complete denial and disbelief in the Qur'ān and the Prophet. But, as good luck would have it, Abul Faḍl's private letters have survived him, which bring out his own true faith. In the Ruq'āt-i-Abul Fadl, one notices that he had reverence for the Prophet. For instance, in his letters to Shaikh 'Uthmān Dehlvi, p.118; to Ṣadr-i-Jahān, p.122, to Shaikh Niẓam Pānipati, p.123 and to Shaikh Abul Fatḥ Khairābādi, wherein he mentions the Prophet and the Qur'ān in the

1. The Emperor Akbar, p.139
2. Muntakhab, p.240 (N.K. Edn.)

following terms :-

"God made Muḥammad, the apostle (may God's blessings and peace be upon him, his children, his companions, and his wives), the best of the human beings from amongst the past and the coming generations. He has been called in the exalted Qur'ān (the commendable distinguisher between good and bad), as a man of excellent morals and conduct".(1) Fortunately the letter to Maulana 'Iṣmatullah is dated as 1004 A.H. (1595 A.D.), wherein Abul Fadl prays for the addressee that God may keep him steadfast on the ennobling religious laws of Muhammad. The words are.- (2)

آن علامهٔ روزگار را بر جادهٔ شریعت غرای محمدی صلی الله علیه و
آله و ازواجه وسلم مستقر داراد

"May God keep that learned of the age steadfast on the path of the glorious creed of Muḥammad (May God's blessing be on him, his children and wives)".

This letter was written 13 years after Akbar is alleged to have transgressed Islamic faith and established Dīn-i-Ilāhi i.e. (1582 A.D.)

As regards Abul Faḍl's faith in Namāz (prayers) we have his letter addressed to Qāḍi Abdus Sattār, in which he sayc, "I have made my habit or routine to keep awake at night and get up early in the morning recite the Holy Qur'ān in the calm hours and pray for the opening of the gates of divine benevolence for my heart full of devotion. (3) All that can be said against, is that Abul Faḍl might have given up saying prayers five times a day in public but the above reference clearly shows that he had faith in the utility of the prayers and devoted calm and quiet hours of the night and morning to this purpose.

1. Ruqa'āt, p.117.
2. Ibid, p.100.
3. Ibid, p.102.

As for Ḥaj, Abul Faḍl expressed his earnest desire to make a pilgrimage to Mecca in a letter (p.197) addressed to Shaikh Abdun Nabi. But it was as early as 937 A.H.(1579 A.D.). In another letter (p.123) addressed to Shaikh Nizam Panipati,he devoutly wishes to pay a visit to the Prophet's mausoleum in the following verse :-

کی بود یارب که رو در یثرب و بطحا کنم - گه بمکه منزل و گه در مدینه جا کنم
بر کنار زمزم از دل برکشم یک زمزمه - از دو چشم خون فشان آن چشمه را دریا کنم
یا رسول الله بسوی خود مرا راهی نما - تا ز فرق خود قدم سازم و دیده پا کنم

"Oh God ! I look for the time when I shall turn my face towards Yathrib and Baṭḥā so that I may stay sometimes at Mecca and sometimes at Medina. I long to sing a song at the side of the Zamzam so that I may turn this fountain into a sea by weeping bloodful tears into it. Oh Apostle of God ! Show me the path leading unto you so that I may use my head as my legs and my eyes as feet to come to you."

As for the obligation and the observance of the Fast in the month of Ramaḍān, no remark appears to have been made by him in his writings.

Another charge levelled by Badāyūni against Abul Fadl, is that he believed in the transmigration of souls. He states in the Muntakhab, under the year 990 A.H. that when A'zam Khan came from Bengal, the Emperor said to him in the course of a conversation, "We have understood the truth about the transmigration of souls with clear cut arguments. Shaikh Abul Faḍl will make you understand and hope that you will readily

1. Ruqqa'āt, p.117.
2. Ibid, p.100.
3. Ibid. p.102.

agree to it".(1) We doubt the veracity of this statement on the evidence of Abul Faḍl's own writings. The man who had full faith in the Qur'an and who as late as 1007 A.H. (1598 A.D.) even at the risk of incurring displeasure of the Emperor, got the commentary on the Qur'an, written by his father, copied and sent to the Islamic countries, could not renounce the basic faith in the day of resurrection. (2) This fact is borne out in a letter addressed to Faidi, his brother, wherein, he prays for him in the following words :-(3)

باولیاءالله در ثبات محشور شوید

"May you rise on the day of resurrection in the company of the saints of God".

Again, in the end, he prays for himself thus :-

اللهم احشرنا فی زمرة الصالحین والمغفورین

"Oh God raise us on the day of resurrection, among the group of the virtuous and the pardoned".

The author of the Ma'āthirul Umarā states, "Jahāngīr wrote, Shaikh Abul Faḍl impressed upon the mind of my father that the Prophet (peace be upon him) had perfect command over Arabic language and the Qur'an was composed by him. Therefore, I asked Bīr Singh to assassinate Abul Fadl on the latter's return from Deccan. Afterwards my father charged his opinion".(4) This statement appears to be a misquotation. Jahāngīr did not mention that this was the cause of Abul Faḍl's murder anywhere in his memoirs. On the contrary he complained to his father that Abul Fadl, in contradiction to his own outward affirmation, made out copies of the

1. Muntakhab, II, p.300 (Calcutta Edn.)
2. Iqbalnamah, p.457-58.
3. Ruqq'āt, p.77-78.
4. Ma'athirul Umara, vol.II, p.617

commentary of the Qur'an and sent them to the foreign countries for circulation.(1) This shows that Abul Fadl had staunch faith in the Qur'an and loved dissemination of its teachings even at the risk of displeasing the Emperor.

The same author says,"The orders were issued for the call of Ādhar Kaivān, head of the Iranian Parsis. He offered excuse and sent a letter, comprising praise of incorporeal beings and stars and a word of advice and wisdom to the king. It ran into 14 folios. Every line was written in pure Persian. When read by changing its dots it became Arabic; when it was inversed it became Turkish; when again, its points were changed it turned into Hindi. Shaikh Abul Fadl said, "This letter is more eloqent than the Qur'an". (2) The above statement is definitely borrowed from the Dabistānul Madhāhib, which has the following version:-

"Letters were written to Ādhar Kaivān, a leader of Yazdānis and Ābādānis, (3) requesting him to come to India. He offered excuse and sent a letter (4) out of his writings in praise of the self existing God, reason, soul, heavens, stars, elements and full of advice to the king. It consisted of 14 folios (4), every line of which was in pure Persian. When read by changing points (تصحیف) it became Arabic. When inversed it turned into Turkish. When, again, read by changing its points it became Hindi. Nawab ʿAllāmī Shaikh Abul Faḍl placed full confidence in Ādhar Kaivān".(5)

---

1. Iqbālnāmeh, p.457-58.
2. Ma'āthirul Umarā, vol.II, p.385.
3. Yazdānis and Ābādānis are sects of Persian religion (Shea and Troyer, I, p.6)
4. Dabistān, translated by Shea and Troyers, vol.III, p.96 gives the word "book" instead of "letter" and 14 sections for 14 folios.
5. Dabistān, p.326.

By comparing both the statements it is clear that the remarks about the Qur'an by the author of the _Ma'āthirul Umarā_ have been added or fabricated by him on his own account. The original initiator of information, i.e. the author of the _Dabistānul Madhāhib_ adds only that Abul Faḍl held Ādhar Kaivān in high favour and showed respect to him. There is no mention about the comparison between the Qur'an and Adhar Kaivan's writing.

We doubt even the veracity of the statement made by the author of the _Dabistān_. At one place he states that a letter of invitation was sent to Ādhar Kaivān in Iran but he offered excuse and did not come. While, at another place, he says, "Adhar came to India at the age of 28 and lived at Patna till his death at the advanced age of 80 in 1029 A.H.(1) We don't think there were two men with the same name of Ādhar Kaivān, one in Iran and the other in India, and both were the masters of sciences and philosophy. It also sounds incredible if ever a line of Persian could be read in Arabic, Turkish and Hindi by changing its points or inverting the order or its words. Hardly any specimen can be found in the whole extent of oriental literature which demonstrates this jugglery of words.

Let us listen to another excuser. Sikandar Beg Turkumān, the author of the _'Ālam Ārāy-i-'Abbāsi_ has remarked that Abul Fadl was an atheist, a Nuqtavi (2)

---

1. _Dabistān_, p.26-31 (Bombay Edn.)

2. _Nuqtaviyya_. The sect was founded by Mahmūd Baskhwāni. He believed in transmigration of souls and said that the beginning of everything was the Nuqta-i-Khāk or earth atom. He maintained that the human body gains in purity by the advancement of age, and reaches its perfection (مقام محمود) as referred to in the Qur'ān, chapter 17, verse 81. "Peradventure thy word will raise you to any honourable (Mahmud) station". By attainment of this bliss the dispensation of Muhammad would come to an end. He pronounced himself as the promised Mahdi. (_A'In_, Tr.I., P.453; Dabistan-i-Shea's Tr.III, p-12-26.

and a follower of Sayyid Aḥmad Kāshi. "This Sayyid Aḥmad", says he, "was killed by Shāh ʿAbbās (985-1038 A.H. with his own sword. From his books and papers which he had written on the creed of Nuqtavis, it came to light that they believed the world as eternal in conformity with the theory of the philosphers. They had absolutely no faith in the Resurrection and the Doom's Day. They held that the award of good and bad deeds was received in this world in the form of happiness and abjectness. The author further states, "I heard from a person who came from India that Abul Faḍl had similar faith and was responsible for the conversion of Jalāluddin Akbar from the religious law of Islam. A letter by Abul Faḍl addressed to Sayyid Aḥmad Kāshi was amongst the former's papers and it indicated such a faith". (1)

This author has not quoted any line of Abul Faḍl's letter to substantiate his accusations. The copy of such a letter addressed to Sayyid Aḥmad Kāshi has not even been preserved or included in the collection of his letters. Presumably it was never written. It seems plausible that owing to Akbar's attitude towards his own faith and Abul Faḍl's intimate friendship with the Emperor the latter has also been accused of bad faith. We give benefit of doubt to Abul Faḍl in the absence of any concrete evidence to this effect and so we cannot attribute blasphemy to him in the light of our discussions in the preceding lines.

3. Abul Faḍl and Christianity.

Akbar invited the Christian priests from Goa, the Portuguese territory in India, to come to the court and discuss with him and initiate him into the truth about

1. Tārīkh-i-ʿĀlam ʿĀrā-i-ʿAbbāsi, vol.II, p.323

the Christian faith. "Akbar wished", says Monserrate, "to determine which is the truest and mightiest religion". From 1580 A.D. to 1600 A.D. there came three Jesuit missions to the Court with missionary zeal to convert the Emperor to Christianity. Father Monserrate, a member of the First Jesuit Mission, has recorded, in a book called the Commentarious, his impressions of the visit and proceedings of their meetings with the Muslim Scholars at court. The priests also came in contact with Abul Faḍl. Monserrate refers to him as "the chief of the Muhammadan preceptors" (1) or that "who easily excelled all the rest in keenness of intellect" (2). Abul Faḍl was entrusted with the task of looking to the comforts of the priests. Being a man of very calm temporament and extremely polite, he naturally took every possible care to provide all facilities to the guests. Unlike other bigoted and orthodox religious doctors he listened to their talk patiently and tried to understand their viewpoints."Once, says Monserrate, "so clearly he demonstrated how we believe that God has a son that the Fathers themselves were astounded". (3) Further Monserrate makes an amazing statement when he says that Abul Fadl was in league with the priests to overthrow or defeat their opponents. His words are, "These latter (Fathers) had made an arrangement with Abul Fasilius that before any public discussion he should listen to their view of the position which they were defending or attacking, and to their arguments, so that he might answer their opponents more fully and elaborately than they could do themselves. This office he performed in

1. Commentarious, p.53
2. Ibid, p.193.
3. Ibid, p.57

many discussions and especially in one, in which his attitude was so praiseworthy that he seemed to be almost Christian".(1) This is Monserrate's happy appreciation of Abul Fadl's kind favours to the Fathers otherwise after a short while he came to realize that neither they themselves nor he (Abul Fadl) could make the Emperor understand "how the most High God can be both three and one; how can He have a son and a man born of a virgin". The fact is that Abul Fadl never blindly supported everything the priests said. According to Monserrate, once during a discussion, a point was raised that there was no necessity of having another revealed book (The Qur'an) when there already existed a complete guide book (The Bible) for the salvation of mankind. Monserrate states, "Why then, said Abufasilius, was the earlier book superseded and the latter granted to man, if both contained one and the same teaching? (2). The question raised by Abul Fadl was very shrewd and one to which there was no answer. He actually meant that when there already existed the Pentatouch, the book of laws and wisdom given by God to Moses, why was there a necessity of giving the Gospel to Christ. On the same occasion, Abul Fadl defended the Qur'an against the malicious attacks of the priests. Monserrate himself informs us, "But, said Abul Fasilius, "Alcoranus supplies spiritual food". "No indeed", replied the priest, "not food but poison".(3)

These two retorts made by Abul Fadl, during the discussion reveal that he criticised and opposed the priests when occasion demanded.

1. Commentary, p.56.
2. Commentary, p.133.
3. Ibid. p.133.

Monserrate accused other Muslim scholars of bigotry but he himself is more than bigot. The priests who dedicate their lives to preaching the Divine message, are expected to be men of excellent conduct. They at least should have purity of words and actions. Father Monserrate, could not restrain himself from using the most objectionable language about Muhammad, the Prophet of the Muslims. He calls him wicked, a liar and a fool.(1) By making such remarks he injured the cause of his mission and invited hatred from the people to whom he was sent to extol the virtues of his faith.

The Fathers were ignorant of the Arabic language. They had studied the Qur'ān through a Latin translation and thus they could never understand the underlying ideas in some of the metaphorical passages of the Qur'an. They said, the Alcoranus is contradictory and inconsistent but when the same charge was brought against the Bible, they satisfied themselves by saying "Religious men, inspired by the Divine will, explain by the right interpretation, passages of the scriptures which appear to conflict each other" (2) This reply can also be given in defence of the Qur'ān.

---

1. Commentary, p.37,39.
2. Ibid. p.138

CHAPTER VI

The Master and the Servant.

1. Abul Faḍl and Akbar.

His political philosophy

Though Abul Faḍl was not a professional philospher yet he was the most learned man of his age. Dr. Tara Chand says,"Any enumeration of Philosphers in India will be incomplete without mentioning Abul Faḍl". (1) His ideal state is monarchy. He says,"No dignity is higher in the eyes of God than Royalty. A king is the origin of stability and possession, for the word padshah is a combination of پاد + شاہ. "pād" signifies stability and, possession and "shāh" means origin or lord... Royalty is a light emanating from God - the receptacle of all virtues. In modern Persian it is called فرّ ایزدی and in Pahlvi it is called "Kiyān Khwarā" (the sublime halo).(2) He further says, "Royalty is a divine bounty; unless thousands of very important qualities combine in a person, this excellent gift is not awarded by God. Mere nobility of birth, accumulation of wealth and collection of bad men do not suffice for this great task, Some of the good qualities are, sublime nature, nobility, kindness, magnanimity, excessive tolerance, hard work, personal munificence, true valour, extensive justice, good intention, best efforts, suitable action, deep contemplation and piety. Even with the attainment of these qualifications, one cannot be a befitting person for the noble task of government, unless one adopts the attitude of universal conciliation and metes out a paternal treatment to the common man and all the strata of society".(3) This was the highest standard by which he proposed to judge a noble king. To him Akbar was the embodiment of most of these qualities. He was noble, brave, munificent, pious, just, painstaking, tolerant and father of the children of his country.

1. History of Philosophy-East & West, vol.I, p.107.
2. Āīn, vol.I, p.2.
3. ~~Āīn~~ A.N, vol.II, p.285.

Akbar had a keen appreciation for the talents of others. He found in Abul Faḍl a noble nature, superior intellect, highest learning and spirit of tolerance. Akbar himself hated bigotry, abhorred prejudices and loved universal peace. Both Abul Faḍl and Akbar had had telic experiences. The similarity of purposes, mutual affinity of souls and congeniality of disposition developed into deep friendship and confidence. Akbar honoured him, rewarded him and raised him to the highest rank attainable by a public officer in his Empire. Abul Faḍl, on his own side helped him, taught him, advised him and consoled him in difficult times. Akbar reposed the highest confidence in him. In his letter to his mother, Abul Fadl writes, "The Emperor talks to this servant (Abul Faḍl) in private when none else is permitted to enter. There is a secret between the lover and the beloved".(1)

Akbar's Personality

During the time when Abul Faḍl was busy in collecting the material relating to the childhood of Akbar, he was told that Akbar talked and consoled his nurse Jeeji Anga when he was nine months old (2). He abhorred darkness and liked light while nursing in the lap.(3) He was able to recognise his mother while he was a child of 2 years 2 months and 8 days, notwithstanding the fact that he had not seen her from his very infancy.(4) When Mirza Kamran was besieged in Kabul Fort, he placed the boy Akbar on the mouth of a gun so that besiegers must not fire on him. But a miracle happened; the fuses did not ignite, the gun did not go off and the gun powder did not explode.(5) Abul Fadl, as a court historian, recorded whatever he was told by the old persons or the men who actually had personal

---

1. Ruqa-'āt, p.97.
2. A.N., vol.I, p.187.
3. Ibid, p.225.
4. Ibid, p.247.
5. Ibid, p.266.

knowledge of events. From the very childhood, a halo of glory, felicity and blessing surrounded Akbar.

Abul Faḍl has recorded some other events of Akbar's life, of which he was most probably an eye-witness , for instance :-

1. Akbar gave up the Qāmargha hunt (1) at the time when he experienced a spiritual trance, an ecstatic communion with God showing him the abhorrence of the massacre of animals.(2)

2. It is curious enough, says Abul Faḍl, that the Emperor's woollen garments fitted every one becomingly, whether tall or short and this fact had puzzled many.(3)

3. In 1009 A.H. while at Burhanpur, Akbar prayed and recited the Ism-i-A'zam (اسم اعظم)(4) for blessing. He asked Abul Faḍl to place sweets before him at the end of each round of the recitation. After the first 'khatm' (finish), the result was visible. Muẓaffar Ḥusain Mirza (5) was brought under arrest. And then followed the conquest of Aḥmadnagar, the death of the chief of the Roshnīs, the conquest of Māligarh and finally the surrender of Asīrgarh itself. After relating these events Abul Fadl adds that whosoever knew the selflessness and godliness of the Emperor, would not consider it an extraordinary incident.(6)

When such a halo of spiritual attainments, Divine favours, is added to the person of Akbar, with all his other qualifications and achievements, naturally he becomes a man to be loved and praised. For such a

---

1. A chase for which drivers are employed (Āīn,I.p.204-205)
2. A.N., vol.III, p.241.
3. A.N.
4. "Ism-i-A'zam", literal meaning is 'the greatest name'. It stands for "Allah".
5. Muẓaffar Ḥusain Mirza. He was the son of Ibrahim Mirza, a Timurid prince. As a youngman he helped his father and uncles in the campaigns of the Deccan, Surat and Ahmadabad. In 1577 A.D. under the guidance of Mihr Ali Kolabi, he revolted but was defeated and captured by Raja ʿAli of Khāndīsh. He was released in 1591 and was married to Sultān Khānum, Akbar's eldest daughter. His sister Nurun Nisa was married to Prince Salim. (Āīn,Tn.p.461-464)
6. A.N.vol.III, p.782.

hero Abul Faḍl had nothing but praise and devotion. He said, "To serve him is the greatest credit, obedience to him is obedience to God".(1) He accepted him as a true leader and completely surrendered himself to his will. In his letter to Shaikh Abdun Nabi, he wrote, "To see him (Akbar) every morning and evening, is a great Haj to me, nay even greater than that".(2) This is a poetic fancy or lover's imagination and such sentiments can be expressed for a man who is held in great love and esteem. Those who arraign Abul Faḍl of gross flattery seem to have ignored the position under which he paid such reverential tributes and used such panygeristic epithets as had appeared flattery to them. Those who live in a democratic age, while addressing kings, high officials and beloved friends, sometimes use words no less high-sounding than those used by Abul Faḍl for an oriental potentate and an autocratic monarch who was the master of the people's lives and could send one to oblivion with one movement of his eyebrow. Abul Faḍl himself condemns flattery in his writings. In one of his letters to the Khān Khānān, he made a distinction between friends and flatterers and warned the grandees and big officers who regarded flatterers as their well-wishers. He further predicted that such persons would in no time be doomed in this world and hereafter.(3) He believed that "To think of dishonesty and flattery( ) is to invite bad fortune and unhappiness".(4)

<u>His flattery.</u>

In spite of the dedication of his life to the service of the Emperor, Abul Fadl showed magnanimity when he wrote to Mīr Ma'ṣūm, "I had not accepted the service of the Emperor for the comfort of my unworthy self but my aim in service had been to work for the

1. A.N. vol.II, p.23.
2. Ruqa'āt, p.143 (N.K.Edn.)
3. Mukātabat, p.97.
4. A.N. vol.I, p.238.

consolation and welfare of the public". To strengthen his statement he added, "God and the angels stand witness to this statement of mine that I consider humble bread, a poor garment and a solitary corner better than the revenues of the whole world".(1)

2. Abul Faḍl and Din-i-Ilahi.

Abul Faḍl accepted Din-i-Ilahi (Divine religion). He was the chief disciple or the mujtahid. Mr. Makhan Lal Roychoudhri has discussed the religion of Akbar at length in his book entitled "The Dīn-i-Ilāhī". He has tried to defend Akbar in all of his convictions and innovations. He holds that Dīn-i-Ilāhi was a kind of Sufi order or a creed within Islam and Akbar was a Muslim. According to the tenets laid down in the Qur'ān,(2) a person is entitled to be called a Muslim who believes in

1. Oneness of God Almighty.
2. Prophethood of Muhammad and other Apostles.
3. Revelation.
4. The revealed books.
5. The Day of Resurrection or the Day of Judgment.

and who attends congregational prayers, observes fasts during the month of Ramaḍān, performs pilgrimage to Mecca if he is financially solvent and abides by the injunctions laid down in the Holy Book. In the face of the evidence available in the Muntakhabu Tawārīkh, the Āīn-i-Akbari, the Dabistānul Madhāhib, the Jesuits' Reports and other contemporary writings relating to the beliefs and practices of Akbar, one cannot testify his faith in Islam. Abul Fadl, his close companion and corroborator in all his plans, has also been branded as apostate from Islam. But this is not true. He held

---

1. Ruq[illegible]'āt, p.167-168 (N.K.Edn.)
2. Qur'ān, chapter 4, verse 136.
"Whosoever disbelieves in Allah, His angels, His books, His apostles and the Last Day, he indeed strays off into a remote error".
من يكفر بالله و ملئكته و كتبه و رسله فقد ضل ضلالا بعيدا
106079
ap.1

strong faith in the fundamental principles of Islam, mentioned above, as we have stated under the chapter "Abul Faḍl's own faith in Islam". Outwardly he kept silent at the change which Akbar made in his religion. But his mind was not at rest. He had had no tranquility of soul. He wrote to his brother Faidi, another member of Dīn-i-Ilāhi, "you should avoid those orders of the Emperor, which do not conform to the Muhammadan Law".(1) And again, "if you happen to be in the society of kings, attach yourself outwardly to them but surrender your innerself to God".(2)

یاد خدا و خدمت سلطان نقیض نیست ۔ دل را بحق بہ بند و زبان را بکار گی

"Devotion to God and to the king are not opposed to each other. Devote your heart to God and your tongue to the king".

In spite of this conviction Abul Fadl was a follower of Dīn-i-Ilāhi. He acted upon the ordinances promulgated by the founder of the creed. Most of these commandments were opposed to the general practices amongst the Muslims and some of the canons were un-Islamic. According to Badāyūni an entrant into Din-i-Ilahi signed the following oath of allegiance :-

"I, so and so, the son of so and so, alienate myself with all my heart's desire, from an imitative and conventional Islam which I had heard from or seen being practised by my ancestors and enter into Din-i-Ilahi of Emperor Akbar. I abide by the four degrees of sincerity, which are, to sacrifice property, life, honour and religion for the sake of Akbar, the Religious Head".(3)

Abul Faḍl must have signed this oath and might have most probably drafted it. The person who joined the Din-i-Ilahi renounced the اسلام تقلیدی و مجازی imitative and pseudo Islam. It can be inferred from this phrase that the person believed that there was a separate true and

1. Ruqa'āt, p.74.
2. Ruqa'āt, p.77.
3. Muntakhab, p.239.

original Islam as known and practised by very few. The four degrees of sincerity mentioned in the oath are actually the four stages of friendship. These have been borrowed from the Kalila Dimna. In the <u>'Iyar Dānish</u> i.e. the Persian version of the Kalīla Dimna, Abul Fadl enumerates four kinds of friends as follows :-

"The first who feels no qualms in sacrificing his property; the second who takes it easy to sacrifice his life; the third who gives away his honour for his friend and the fourth who experiences no difficulty in laying aside his religion for the sake of his friend."(1)

The first three sacrifices can be made by a person for his beloved, teacher or any honourable man who is held in high esteem and may be permitted in almost all religions of the world but as regards the fourth i.e. the sacrifice of religion for the sake of a friend, it is not permissible in Islam. A Muslim must not forsake his faith even at the risk of his life. God enjoins upon the faithful to obey the parents and warns them not to utter an insolent remark against them but at the same time wants them to refuse obedience if they (parents) press upon them to accept polytheism.(2) There can be none dearer than parents who were instrumental in bringing a person into being and therefore every possible sacrifice can be offered for their sake. But if they insist on the renunciation of one's true faith they are to be disobeyed.

The next most objectionable practice among the Ilāhiyans was to prostrate before the Emperor, the head of Dīn-i-Ilāhi. Abul Fadl termed this prostration as سجود نیایش (the prostration of benediction) or سجدهٔ سپاس گزاره (prostration of gratitude).(3) But this is strictly

---

1. <u>'Iyār Dānish</u>, p.144.
2. <u>Qur'ān</u>, chapter 31, verse 15.
3. <u>Āīn</u>, p. 157.

opposed to the spirit of Islam, according to which a Muslim prostrates before God Almighty only. Abul Faḍl did prostrate before Akbar but differentiated between the prostration performed before a man for his being the object of great honour and affection, and the prostration of prayers made before God. Some devout Ṣūfis, who in spite of all their outward complete adherence to Islamic laws and rules, place their forehead at the feet of their spiritual master or leader. Abul Faḍl's prostration was also that of submissiveness and respect before his master and leader. Those who favoured this prostration cited the instance of Joseph the Apostle before whom his brothers and his parents prostrated.(1)

The Ilāhiyans were also called upon

1. not to feast others after death for the benefit of the deceased but give alms during their own life,
2. not to eat flesh as far as possible,
3. not to take anything slain by one's own hands,
4. not to share the vessels with butchers, fishers and bird catchers,
5. not to cohabit with pregnant, old, barren women and girls under the age of puberty.(2)

If these orders were issued to be carried out with discretion at the time of emergency or necessity, they were useful to some extent. And if these were made a life discipline for a disciple of Dīn-i-Ilāhi, their generalization could be harmful for individuals and the society. Abul Faḍl, in his Ilāhiyan career, might not have had any opportunity to act upon them because he had so high a status in society that he could have no chance to dine with fisher and bird catchers or slaughter an animal with his own hands. To act upon order No.5

1. Qur'ān, chapter 12, verse 100.
2. Āīn-i-Akbari, Ain No.77.

would have been impracticable for Akbar as well as Abul Faḍl. Akbar had many wives and innumerable concubines and every one did not yield him a child, therefore, naturally he could not have given up cohabition with others. Abul Faḍl had four wives but he was blessed with a son only from his first wife. Is it possible that he gave up sexual relations with other women in his house, after accepting Ilahiyan faith?

The Ilahiyans gave up the common formula of mutual salutation of Muslims and took up the use of الله اکبر and جل جلاله in its place. But this practice was confined to the members of the creed. They could use the Islamic phrase of salutation when they met the Muslims. Abul Fadl did not give up the practice of addressing his friends with the salutation of السلام علیکم.

Though, according to his own statements, Abul Faḍl accepted Din-i-Ilahi, to keep up outward appearances and to please the Emperor, his master, yet, we think, a man of principle should not have followed the king blindly. Mir Sayyid Fatḥullāh Shīrāzi, a great scholar of the age did not give in and in spite of general prohibition of public prayers in the court, offered his prayers in his own fashion, openly in the court in the presence of the Emperor.(1) Abul Faḍl, undoubtedly, was a man of high ideals and integrity, but in the matter of faith he had shown weakness and laxity.

---

1. Muntakhab, II, p.315.

CHAPTER VII.

Abul Fadl as a soldier.

1. Expedition against Ahmadnagar.

As Abul Faḍl had enrolled himself in the army and was commissioned to the rank of Bīsti, he must have undergone military training and learnt the use of bow and sword. He must have developed horsemanship and gained some experience in battle procedure and military tactics. He had no chance to serve in the battle field and to participate in fighting till late when he was sent to the Deccan in 1598 A.D. As a successful army officer and commander of troops he proved his mettle in the expeditions he led against Asirgarh and the battles against Rāju and Shāh ʿAli's son.

In 994 A.H. (1586 A.D.) he volunteered himself to lead an attack on the Yūsufzāī Pathans in what is now known as the North West Frontier Province and expressed his desire to win an eternal name in the service of his master. Rāja Bir Bar was also aspiring for the achievement of this honour. The lots were cast and the throw came out in Raja Bīr Bar's name.(1) The Raja lost his life in that campaign.

As a mark of recognition of his services in other departments Abul Fadl got promotion in his rank, eventually bringing wealth, prestige and honour to himself. In 993 A.H. (1585 A.D.) he was exalted to the rank of 1000 horse.(2) In 1000 A.H. (1592 A.D.) he was promoted to 2000.(3) The year 1600 A.D. saw him as the commander of 4000 (4) and the year 1602 brought him the coveted distinction of 5000 horse (5), granted only to the Mughal officers of exceptional merits and relations of the Royal family. The year 1599-1600 A.D.

1. A.N. vol.III, p.478.
2. Ibid, p.457.
3. Ibid, p.610.
4. Ibid, p.771.
5. Ibid, p.805.

proved to be a landmark in Abul Fadl's career. Prior to this he had shown himself as a master of pen but henceforth he had to prove that he was a master of sword as well. His ability and integrity were put to test. He had to command the disunited army, the factious leaders and then to conquer the foreign land and establish administration there. The following pages will reveal, how difficult the task was and to what extent he was successful.

By this year Abul Faḍl had attained the greatest confidence of the Emperor. He was a friend, philosopher and guide to him. He held the rank of 2500; he was the chief secretary. He had arisen from poverty to power. And being a Hindustāni of humble origin and a son of a dervish, he could not be expected to rise to such a high position as that of chief minister of a vast empire. The envious were conspiring and pressing upon the Emperor to send him away from the court in order to have a free hand in the court affairs.(1) He complains against the grandees who wanted to undo his work. In his writings from the Deccan he states that intriguers at court did not fully convey his reports to the Emperor.(2) Thus he was placed in a very awkward situation, wherefrom it was very difficult for him to extricate himself honourably.

The immediate problem was the untoward situation that had developed at Aḥmadnagar. Burhanul Mulk, the king, died in 1594 A.D. Ibrāhim, his son, succeeded him but was killed in a battle in 1595 A.D. Then Bahādur Shāh, the minor, was raised to the throne, with Chānd Bībī, the sister of Burhānul Mulk, as regent. Some nobles under the headship of Abhang Khān, the Abbysinian, had rebelled and besieged Ahmadnagar. A party supporting the king called in the Mughals from Gujrat.

1. Iqbālnameh, p.459.
2. Ruq[illegible]'āt, p.67.

Prince Murād and Abdur Raḥīm Khān Khānān had proceeded and laid siege to Aḥmadnagar. But the situation was not promising and the affairs had deteriorated from bad to worse. The officers of the army were disunited. They were tired of their long stay away from their homes. The Army was neither fully equipped nor regularly paid. The financial help from the Court was delayed. The soldiers did not put heart to work on account of the tough battles they had to fight with the enemy in his own homeland with strong strategic position in hostile hands. The Commander-in-Chief of the forces, Abdur Raḥīm Khān Khānān, had been recalled to Agra due to unsatisfactory reports of his work in the Deccan and his disagreement with Prince Murād.(1)

Primarily Abul Fadl was despatched to the Deccan with orders to return with the Prince, provided the officers of the army made themselves responsible for guarding the conquered territory. If the officers were not inclined to accept responsibility he was to take the command himself along with Shāhrukh Mirza.(2) Mirza Yūsuf Khan (3) asked him to come post haste owing to the serious illness of the Prince and the threatened attack of the enemy. On his way to the Deccan he broke journey at Burhanpur on 21st April, 1599 A.D. Bahādur Khān the ruler of Khāndīs, came to see him from Asirgarh. Abul Fadl requested him to guide the Deccan expedition, but he offered excuses for going personally and instead agreed to send his son Kabīr Khan with 2000 horsemen. He tried to win over Abul Fadl by offering presents which the latter did not accept.(4)

Prince Murad was lying at his death bed on

---

1. A.N.III, p.698-99, 739.
2. Shahrukh Mirza. A grandson of Mirza Sulaimān, ruler of Badakhshan under Humayun and Akbar. He was governor of Malwa and distinguished himself in the Deccan wars. Died in 1016 A.H.
3. Mirza Yūsuf. He was a sayyid of Mashhad and a favourite of Akbar. He was the ruller of Kashmir in 995 A.H. He was placed at/Deccan. Died in 1010 A.H.
4. A.N. III, p.752. /the head of the artillery bureau and saw much service in the

account of his indulgence in heavy drinking. On 29th April, 1599 Abul Faḍl hastened to the Prince's residence. It was all confusion there. Troops were dispersing. The leaders of the army wanted to take the Prince back to Shahpur. Abul Faḍl represented that in a situation when people were losing heart, the enemy was close at hand, the country was foreign, and the return would amount to self-annihilation. In the mean-while the Prince passed off due to delirium tremens.(1) The confusion rose high. Many of the soldiers deserted him. But Abul Faḍl was firm. He at once started to put matters right. He collected all the belongings of the prince, listed them one by one and placed them under the supervision and surveillance of experienced men. The corpse and the female inmates were despatched under the guidance of Rāi Durga, Mirza Farīd and the other officers. The departure was delayed due to lack of funds and insecurity of passage. As some people had evil designs Abul Faḍl withheld 200 elephants. The party met the Emperor at Mālwa. (2)

Some Tūrānīs left and contemplated sedition. Though a party of 300 strong came up and some of the treasure of the late prince was utilized, yet the soldiers did not put their heart to work. The mischief mongers talked of the unsettled affairs in Bengal and other disturbances in the country. In spite of this lack of morale Abul Fadl made up his mind to stand by. The whole of the prince's territory was guarded. The management of the troops was carried out in an excellent way. (3)

Abul Faḍl despatched Sunder Dass for the conquest of Taltum, one of the strong fortresses of Berar, where

1. A.N., III, p.753.
2. Ibid. p.764.
3. Ibid. p.754-55.

he fought fierce battles. When the besieged were asleep, his troops scaled the walls and went inside. Katulu Khan, the commander escaped and the others surrendered.(1)

The garrison of Daulatābād (2) represented that they were prepared to hand over the keys of the fort if peace and security of life were guaranteed to them. But there were a number of Deccanies and Abbysinians who were bent on mischief. Thereupon Abul Fadl sent off his son Abdur Raḥmān to pursue them with a battalion of 3000 soldiers.(3) He himself proceeded to Ahmadnagar. (4) Chānd Bībī was defending the fort. Abhang Khan, the Abbysinian, and Sa'ādat Khān, the Deccani, were causing disturbances outside. Chand Bibi was carrying on a dual policy. On the one hand she was friendly towards the Deccanis and on the other she was obsequous towards the Mughal Army commanders. Abul Fadl wrote to her about the futility of the negotiations under such circumstances. When the infidelity of Abhang Khān was exposed she made an agreement to the effect that as soon as Abhang Khān was subdued she would hand over the keys of the Fort. She further proposed that Bir (5) must be given her as a fief and she be permitted to safely leave the Fort. After that she would pay a visit to the exalted court and despatch Bahadur under the protection of an officer. This plan

1. Ibid. p.756.
2. Daulatābād. or Deogiri-Hill fort in the District and taluka of Aurangābād, Hyderabad state, situated in 19 57 N and 75 13 E.
3. A.N., III, p.758.
4. Ahmadnagar. The Ahmadnagar kingdom included the part of Cheul, the valley of Godavri as far as Nander and the greater part of the present Nāsik, Ahmadnagar, Poona and Sholapur districts. (I.G.I. Bombay Presidency, 1909).
5. Bīr. or Bhīr district in the Aurangābād Division, Hyderabad State, lying between 18° 28′ and 19° 27′ N and 75° 54′ and 76° 57′ E with a total area of 4,460 sq. miles,

was delayed on account of different views held by Abul Fadl's colleagues and consequently negotiations failed. (1)

After the death of Prince Murād, Sultān Dāniyāl, the second son of Akbar, was appointed to take charge of the Deccan affairs. The Prince did not so promptly realize the bad situation in that country and consequently did not reach there post-haste. We notice in his letter to Prince Dāniyāl how fervently Abul Fadl requested the Prince to come to Jalnapur (2) on the pretext of a search for game according to the wishes of His Majesty, the Emperor. He further exhorted him to come to tackle the situation quickly otherwise delay would be fatal and he should not be held responsible for failure of the expedition. (3) Abul Faḍl and his troops were stationed at Shahgarh. When their stay prolonged and news of the Prince's arrival subsided some of his colleagues deserted him. In the meantime Abhang Khān approached Shamshirul Mulk, the ruler of Berār (4) who assisted him with men and material to enable him to equip a small army to re-conquer the lost country. Mirza Yūsuf who had been entrusted with the task of guarding that area was not sufficiently alert. The enemy troops made a sudden entry into Berār; the troops stationed over there were taken unawares. Many were uprooted and others were dispersed. (5) Later on Abhang Khān came back from

1. A.N., III, p.764-65.
2. Jalnapur. Eastern Taluka of Aurangābād District, Hyderabad State, with area of 801 sq. miles. The country is composed of black cotton soil and is hilly towards the North and the East.
3. Mukātabāt, II, p.83.
4. Berār. It included portions of Sirpur Tandu, Indūr, Parbhani and Aurangabad districts, which now fall within the boundaries of the Niẓām's dominions. (I.G.I. Hyderabad, p.60. Calcutta Edn.)
5. A.N., III, p.765-66.

Berar and gathered his force at Ahmadnagar. Mirza Yusuf also became alert and followed him. On his own side Abul Fadl sent Mirza Khān, Mirza Lashkarī, 'Ādil Khān, Sunder Dass and other in advance. Shamshīrul Mulk's untimely death was a bad news to Abhang Khan. He was now aiming at Īlajpur.(1) The battle was fought on 29th November, 1599. Suddenly a fatal arrow struck him dead with the result that the others dispersed.(2)

When Prince Murād died, many soldiers stationed at Bir left the place. The enemy was watching the movements. The Deccanis and the Abbysinians began massing their forces near the river Godāwri and waited for an opportune moment. As soon as the rains set in, the River was in spate. Taking advantage of the natural barrier against the reinforcements accross the River, they, 15000 in number, assisted by sixty elephants, made an assault on Bīr. Sher Khwāja (3) the commander of the city, without taking full defensive measures, came out of the Fort and went forward to meet them. But he could not stand against the heavy onslaught of the enemy. His troops were uprooted. He was wounded but carried himself back to the fort. The enemy laid siege to the fort.(4) According to Farishta, Sher Khwāja wrote to Akbar about the situation complaining against Abul Fadl and Mirza Yūsuf of their negligence in not despatching reinforcements in time.(5) But Mu'tamad Khān refers to the prompt action taken by Abul Fadl in sending the reinforcements to him.(6)

---

1. Īlajpur. Ilichpur, a town in Amrāoti district, Berār, situated in 21° 16'N and 77° 33'E.
2. A.N. III, 765-66.
3. Sher Khwāja. He was a sayyid of Itāwah. His real name was Badshah Khwāja, a valiant soldier. Served under Sa'id Khan Chaghtai against the Yusafzais and under Sultan Murad in Deccan. Died in 1037 A.H.
4. A.N. III.p.759.
5. Farishta, IV, p.64.
6. Iqbālnamah, p.463.

Abul Faḍl was pained to learn about the situation.(1) He left Shāhgarh and collected the seasoned soldiers from all sides. He called back Mirza 'Ali and his own son from Daulatabad and sent them in advance with a suitable band of troopers. The enemy was stunned to see the Imperial forces cross the river in bad weather. The Shaikh also followed and crossed the River. The enemy fought for a while and then he was routed up. The besieged were released. Abul Faḍl wished to leave his son with a section of the force, but Sher Khwaja did not agree and took up the responsibility of holding the country himself. Nevertheless he left reinforcements at Shahgarh for an emergency.(2)

Akbar was not satisfied with the progress of the Deccan campaign. He made up his mind to tackle the problem himself. So he left for the Deccan. He patched up his difference with Abdur Raḥīm Khān Khānān, married his daughter to Prince Dāniyāl and gave him command of the Deccan forces to work in unison with the Prince. He thus acted wisely and recalled Abul Faḍl from that area of operations. On 16th December, 1599 Abul Faḍl came to Mangi Patan (3) and intended to cross Godavri. There he received a letter from Sultān Dāniyāl to this effect, "Your services have been well appreciated by one and all. You restrain from taking Aḥmadnagar till my arrival. After this there will be no delay".(4)

At this stage of events Abul Fadl received a great set back owing to the infidelity of his tried friend. Especially Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan, his beloved friend betrayed him and tried to injure his reputation by intrigue. The Prince and the Khan Khanan had

---

1. A.N.III, p.760.
2. Ibid, p.761.
3. Mangi Patan. Paithan in Aurangābād district, Hyderabad State, situated in 19° 28'N and 75° 24'E on the north bank of the Godāvri.
4. Mukātabāt, p.152-53.

deliberately overstayed at Burhānpur and had issued orders to some of the commanders of the troops to fall back. Abul Faḍl brought this irregularity to the notice of Khān Khānān in a reply to his letter.(1) The commentator of the Mukātabāt-i-ʿAllāmi also remarks, "The purpose of withholding the reinforcements was that that the laurels of victory might not go to Abul Fadl. The Khān Khānān had recalled the troops engaged in this expedition and had transferred the jāgirs of the officers; consequently they were obliged to leave the fields of their operations".(2) Abul Faḍl regrets such a treatment at the hands of no less a beloved friend than Khān Khānān and refers to the documentary proof held by him in the form of a letter to Mirza Yūsuf, who, along with 5000 men was ordered to withdraw from Daulatābād. He further requested him to come quickly so that he should apprise him of the situation. On the arrival of the Khān Khānān he handed over the charge to him and proceeded to join Akbar. He met him on 20th March, 1600 at Kīrgāoṇ.(3) Akbar was very much pleased to see him and recited the following verse:- (4)

فرخنده شبی باید و خوش مهتابی - تا با تو حکایت کنم از هر بابی

"An auspicious night and fine moonlight
is needed so that I may talk to you on
every topic".

2. Conquest of Māligarh and Asīrgarh.

Bahādur Khān, the ruler of Khāndīs, was complacent in view of his strong fortifications and affluence of provisions. He wanted to remain independent

1. Mukātabāt, p. 152-53.
2. Nafi'ut tālibin, Ms. fol.72.
3. Koregaon, Taluka of Satāra district, Bombay, lying between 17° 28' and 18° 1'N and 74° 18'E, with an area of 346 sq. miles. The country is comparatively flat in the south but everywhere slopes gently from the hills.
4. A.N., III, p.769.

and did not care to offer allegiance to the Emperor. His father Rāji 'Ali Khān gave his life in the battle of Supa in the Deccan while fighting on the side of Akbar's army. The Emperor having acknowledged his services, authorised his son to occupy the country. When Sultān Dāniyāl passed that way to the Deccan, Bahādur Khān did not care to come and pay his respect to the prince.(1) Akbar had intended that Bahadur Khan should accompany the prince in the Deccan expedition. Bahādur Khān was expected to offer himself to join the army to avenge the death of his father. But he was a coward and self indulgent. It was interpreted that his failure to attend to the Prince was not due to any intention to rebellion on his part but he wanted to wait upon the king first.(2) At the time Akbar camped at Ujain, Bahādur Khān sent invaluable presents with his son Kabir Khan and some other men but avoided to present himself at the Court. Khwāja Maudood, Mir Ṣadr-i-Jahān and Peshro Khān were sent to him one after another for advice and persuasion but he tried to put off his personal appearance before Akbar with another gift of four rare elephants.(3)

While Abul Faḍl was on his way to join Akbar he was asked to try again and bring Bahādur Khan along with him. Abul Faḍl was supposed to have been the best man to have a conciliatory talk with him because a sister of Abul Faḍl had been married to Bahādur Khān's brother. Bahādur Khān came to see him and after listening to him agreed to accompany but as soon as he went back to the fort he changed his mind.(4)

The province of Khāndīs lay in between the Deccan and the rest of the India conquered by Akbar.

1. A.N. III, p.766.
2.& 3. Ibid, p.767.
4. Ibid, p.769.

Its strategic position could not be ignored and Akbar could not proceed further to fight in the territory of the enemy with an offending man at his back. At last he resolved to conquer the country and overpower him. On the 20th February, 1600 Shaikh Farīd Bakhshi Begi, Qarā Beg, Muqīm Khān and other men were permitted to lay siege to Khāndīs . Burhānpur, the capital of the country, was occupied.(1)

On 11th April, 1600 Khān-i-Aʿzam, Āṣif Khān, Shaikh Farīd and Abul Faḍl were appointed to besiege Asīr and dig trenches. The portion of troops sent under the leadership of Shaikh Farīd Bakhshi Begi, finding the enemy outnumbered, withdrew three miles as a precautionary measure. Some of the fault-finders had reported that this action of Shaikh Farīd was based on bad faith but when Abul Faḍl saw the Emperor he apprised him of the true situation.(2)

Further Abul Faḍl was entrusted with the charge of Khāndīs (named Dāndīs after Sultān Dāniyāl). He stationed the troops at two places. He sent his brother Abul Barakāt to one side with a number of experienced men and his son Abdur Raḥmān to the other. In a short time the rebellious were brought under control and many of the soldiers of Khāndīs surrendered themselves for submission. Peace prevailed and the tiller went to the soil.(3) Ṣafdar Khān, a grandson of Raja ʿAli Khān, (sister's son of Abul Faḍl) was called up from Agra so that the native soldiers might lend their ears to him.(4) Abul Faḍl was raised to the rank of 4000 and was awarded a special robe, a steed, a flag and a drum.

Bahādur Khān did not find things so easy as he thought. The strong determination of the Mughal army to conquer his country had broken the peace of his mind. He

1. A.N., III, p.769.
2.& 3. Ibid, p. 769.
4. Ibid, p. 772.

had offended a great Emperor. Again on the 15th May, 1600, he approached the Emperor for pardon and protection. He sent his grandmother and younger son to offer apology and a gift of sixty elephants, with a request that he should be left alone to serve for some time without appearing before the Emperor. As soon as the terror subsided he would come to the Court himself. He sent in-valuable gifts and offered his daughter in marriage to Sultān Khusro. It was found that he wanted to set the king off the track by flattery and outward submissiveness till the commodities and provisions became cheaper. The reply was sent to him to the effect that nothing but his personal presence will be accepted(1)

The Mughal Army was going ahead, forcing its way up. On 11th June they captured the mountain of Sapan. The garrison of Asīrgarh came out and inflicted injuries. Qarā Beg and others stood fast and fought by stages so that the enemy went back inside the Fort. It was a good victory and by steadfastness of Qara Beg the besieged were put to trouble.(2) The siege continued. No news of the besieged was received for some time. On the instructions of Akbar, Abul Fadl wrote a word of advice to Bahādur Khān. On the 13th September, 1600 he sent Sa'ādat Khān, his brother-in-law, with ten elephants and made the old petition which met with similar refusal. Sa'adat Khan did not want to go back. He submitted that he had been able to come out of the narrow path with great difficulty and had cherished a desire for long to serve his Majesty. He appeared to speak the truth, so he was taken into service and raised to the rank of 1000 horse. Pir Muhammad, his companion, took the reply back.(3)

Capture of Maligarh.

Asīrgarh was the strongest fort in India about 14 miles from Burhānpur, 850 ft. high from the base.

1. A.N.III, p.771.
2. Ibid, p.772.
3. Ibid, p.776.

There is a bluff precipice from 80 to 120 feet in perpendicular depth, too scarped to ascend and accessible only through two points. "Half way up the mountain, to the West and slightly to the North, were two renowned works, called the Malāī and Antri Malāī, which had to be conquered before the Asīr itself could be reached, and between the North West and the North there was another bastion called Chunah Malāī. From east to south west there were hills and in the south was a high mountain called Kodhia".(1) The capture of these posts was a very hard task. The commodities were dear. The people were feeling home-sick. Even some of the troops stationed near the fort were bribed by the besieged. Abul Faḍl was occasionally sent to look after the batteries. One of the inmates of the garrison joined Qara Beg and showed him a hidden path which led to the wall of Malāīgarh. But the unwilling soldiers ascribed this expedition to the madness of the undertaker. On 28th November, 1600, Abul Faḍl was sent back on this employment. He got the Royal mandate to the effect that whatever the plan be chalked out and determined to put into action, it should be carried out by others. Qara Beg's description of the path imparted a fresh vigour to his resolution. He arranged with the commanders of the batteries to take the fort within a week. It was agreed that, as soon as the sound of the drums and trumpets reached their ears, they would come with the ladders. The night of the 29th was dark. It was raining. Selected men were sent out and they assembled on the top of the hill Sāpan, already captured. He sent off Qarā Beg first with a body of men and gradually despatched others from among the batteries and his own servants. In the later part of the night some men of

1. Iqbālnāmah, p.470; Blochman, preface to Āīn, p.XIV; A.N. III, p.778.

the first party entered into the secret path and broke the gate of Malāī open. Many entered the fort and beat the drums and sounded the trumpets. The men behind came late. The garrison troops were alarmed and stood up to fight. Abul Fadl himself followed but the guide made some mistake. He states that in the heat of battle and rain of cannot balls he mounted the scaling ladder.(1) The others followed the example. Early in the morning the soldiers of the trenches ran up to Kodhia. The men of Farid Bakhshi Begi ascended Chunah Malāī. The opponents retreated and gave way to Asir.(2)

On the day of victory Bahādur Khān sent Muqarrib Khan, the Abbysinian, his distinguished attendant with the message that, if the fort and his kingdom were left in his possession and the prisoners were released, he would come to the court with pleasure. Abul Faḍl kept quiet and sent an account of his request to the court. The request was granted and the protection of his life and honour were guaranteed. The next day Muqarrib Khān came again and requested that Khan-i-Azam Mirza Koka should take hold of his hand and bring him to the court. Khān-i-A'ẓam went upto Malāīgarh and Bahādur Khān came down from Asir and was presented before the Emperor.(3)

Capture of Asir.

By the capture of Malāīgarh the traffic to the fort was blocked. The Asirians were frightened. Abul Faḍl was accorded permission to proceed that fort. Efforts were made to carry the positions upto Kodhia and transport heavy guns. He also initiated talks with the besieged. They agreed to surrender the fort if he got a writing to this effect from Bahādur Khān, so that they might not be accused of infidelity. They also

---

1. A.N. III, p.778.
2. Ibid, p.777-778.
3. Ibid, p.779.

asked guarantee for protection of life and property which was given. Bahādur Khān hesitated to sign ; harsh words were exchanged, but when pressed hard, he signed and put his seal on it. The writing was sent inside the fort. Abul Faḍl sat outside the gate. Thirty four thousand men with all their belongings came down the fort in four days (1) On the 16th January, 1601, Abul Faḍl sent his son Abdur Raḥmān in company with some experienced hands inside the fort. The inmates received them with honour and handed over the keys. Fifty three men of Bahādur Khān's family including his uncles, brothers and sons were despatched to the court. The trustees of Bahādur Khān and the accountants were left in the fort. Abul Faḍl assigned the various duties to the Royal servants and after having satisfied himself about the arrangements went to see the Emperor. (2) The capitulation of Asīr was effected on 17 January, 1601. The inscription on the front wall of the Jami' mosque in the fort is dated as Bahman 6, Ilāhi year 45, and Rajab 22, 1009 A.H.(3)

"That ignorant mountain dweller" (Bahādur Khan) says Abul Faḍl, "had taken more than one hundred thousand of the cattle up in the fort. Out of animal congestion the air was affected and in consequence, 25,000 of them died off." (4) Bahādur Khān was sent to Gwaliyār along with his bag and baggage on 2nd March, 1601.(5)

Du Jarric's version of Asir's capture.

The above version relating to the capture of Asirgarh is based on Abul Fadl's own writing in the Akbar-nāmah. Some details, quite at variance with this

1. A.N., III, p.780-81.
2. A.N., III, p.781-82.
3. Annual Report, Asiatic Society, Eastern Circle, Calcutta 1907-8, pp. 26,27.
4. A.N., III, p.781-82.
5. Ibid. p.785.

statement, are given in chapter IX of the "Akbar and the Jesuits" by Du Jarric under the caption "At the seat of war". In order to have full view of the picture the summary of the chapter is given below :-

1. "Akbar wished to conquer the Deccan. When he arrived there, the Queen of the territory aided by the Portugese and her own lords resisted and killed many of the Emperor's army. After her death the Deccanis divided themselves. Some were won over by money and some taken in by false promise. So he became master of the kingdom of Melique (Nizāmul Mulk).

2. After finishing with that he came to 'Breampur' (Burhanpur) whose king named 'Miram' had retired to 'Syr' his chief stronghold which was fortified with three thousand pieces of artillery. One Abbysinian, the Governor, and other seven captains (though of the sect of the Saracens yet of Portugese descent) defended it. Akbar could not take it by storm. He made use of 'cunning and deceit of which he was a master'. He sent a message to the king Miram saying that he wished to speak to him and swore by the head of the Prince that he could return to his fortress without hindrance. On the advice of certain men who were won over by money, king Miram set forth with a chapperon round his neck, a sign of subjection. He made obeissance to Akbar. One of the captains forced him to touch his nose to the ground. It was done with the consent of Akbar but the latter rebuked the captain. He made him write a letter to the Officer Incharge of the first line of defence to allow the lord entrance. But afterwards, disregarding his oath, Akbar caused him to be arrested.

3. The Governor sent one of his sons and reminded Akbar about his oath and asked him to send the king back to his people and then carry on the war in any way he liked. Akbar asked the son if his father could

come to see him. He replied that he would never come and would never surrender. He told Akbar if king Miram did not return, there were other princes in the fortress to succeed him. Akbar was enraged and Governor's son was killed . The Abbysinian father sent a word that he would never see a king so perfidious. He further addressed his men and told them to be brave, "pointed to them the impregnability of the fortress and hoped that Akbar would raise the siege when the winter set in. He further said that he would not like to see the face of a wicked man and then strangled himself to death.

4. The garrison held on for some time. Akbar decided to bombard it with artillery but he had no guns for that purpose. He asked Father Xavier and his companion to write to the Portugues at Chaul to send him artillery and ammunition. The Father replied that it would be violation of the Christian Law to take such a step because the Portuguese had previously made an alliance with king Miram. The "Barbarian" (Akbar) was displeased and asked them to quit the court and return to Goa. But on the advice of the gentleman of the court they stayed out of his sight till his wrath subsided.

5. At last Akbar sent large quantity of gold and silver secretly to the defenders so that none of the seven kings present there in the fort accepted the throne because the captains and the soldiers showed little spirit and resolution. After some time the fortress was surrendered. The Mongol pardoned all and sent the king and seven princes to his own country with pension of 4000 and 2000 crowns respectively. The Portuguese captains were cruelly treated but on the request of Father Xavier they were handed over to him.

They were converted to Christianity." Here ends Du Jarric's version.

Smith's conclusions about the fall of Asir.

Mr. V.A. Smith, the author of "Akbar, the Great Mogul", in his account of the fall of Asirgarh, p.273-285, depended on the version of Du Jarric. He formed the following conclusions :-

The cause of the fall of Asirgarh due to pestilence is a pure invention of Abul Faḍl.

2. The king was lured into Akbar's camp and made prisoner by an act of shameful perfidy.

3. The officers of defence were bribed.

4. The narrative of Du Jarric rests upon unquestionable authority i.e. literally true, deserving acceptance as being the most authentic history of events.

5. Official version given by Faiḍi Sirhindi is a purposely muddled travesty of facts.

6. The Jesuits had no personal bias against Akbar.

On pages 297-300 of his book, he has reproduced Faiḍi Sirhindi's account relating to the capitulation of Asirgarh with the remarks "that this was equivalent to passages from Abul Faḍl's book". He has examined the statement in the light of Du Jarric's history and declared it as an absurd and wilful concealment of his master's treachery".

Payne's criticism.

C.H. Payne, the translator of "The Akbar and the Jesuits', in his notes on chapter IX, the summary of which is given above, has examined and criticised Du Jarric and Mr. Smith. His conclusions are as under :-

1. The account is not based on the letters of Xavier or of any writer who was present during the siege as no mention of pestilence has been made by them. Faiḍi Sirhindi, Abul Faḍl and Farishta mention it and Father Xavier who must have heard the account from the Portuguese captives has not made any passing reference to it.

2. The stories of Muqarrib Khan's murder and the suicide of the Abbysinian Governor are completely at variance and chronologically irreconciliable. The suicide of Muqarrib Khan is corroborated in the Ẓafarul Wālah, vol. I, p.85-87.

3. The Jesuit writer mentions Miram instead of Bahādur Khān, the name by which the king of Khāndīs was known.

4. Smith assigns the date of appearance of Bahādur Khān before Akbar in August which is incorrect. Abul Faḍl gives 30th Adhar (10th December) i.e. 12 days after 28th November, on which Māligarh fort was captured by the besiegers. It was this loss of the main defence which convinced Bahādur Khān about the futility of prolonging the siege. Mr. Payne refers to the eventual bringing in of Bahādur by Mirza Koka from Māli as described in Akbarnameh. Abul Faḍl had stated that the promise of return of the fortress and country was given to the commander of Bahādur Khān and that he had not concealed this fact as Mr. Smith would like us to believe that he hid his master's treachery. Abul Faḍl led this campaign and he was the only authority who knew the actual circumstances and he had no apparent motive for dishonesty. Further account of Abul Faḍl regarding submission of the fortress by the defenders on presenting the letter of capitulation signed by Bahadur Khan, is equally candid.

5. Abul Fadl has, nowhere attributed the capitulation either wholly or in part, to pestilence.

6. The extracts from the history of Faiḍi Sirhindi, given by Mr. Smith are not based on the account of Abul Faḍl. There are many features of the siege about which Abul Faḍl, in his more condensed account, says nothing. Nevertheless the two accounts are not, in the main irreconciliable. The date assigned to the fall of

fortress as 18th Ṣafar, 1009 (August, 1600) is due, of course, to an oversight on the part of Faiḍi because he correctly states that news of the fall of Aḥmadnagar reached Akbar on 18 Ṣafar, 1009 A.H. while the siege of Asīrgaṛh was in progress.

7. The story relating to the murder of Muqarrib Khan, as reported by the author of the Ẓafrul Wāleh is "substantially true". The author of the Jesuit story appears to have discovered it in fragments and in the process of reconstruction, has put all the pieces in wrong places.

8. Akbar's request to Father Xavier to write the authorities at Goa to send artillery and ammunition, has not been mentioned by the Muslim writers. Abul Faḍl whose account of the latter part of the siege is very brief, merely states, "As it was not imagined that the ruler of Khāndīs would shut his gates against the world's ruler, a siege train was not brought. Though, after arrival, by great efforts, some guns were brought from Parnāla, Gāwal and Aḥmadābād, yet they were not of much use. Akbar might have made the above request. Abul Faḍl and Faiḍi Sirhindi might have considered this incident as unimportant to mention in their histories.

We concur with Mr. Payne so far as his above comments are concerned. There are some more details which refute the charges made by Mr. Smith and Du Jarric.

1. In the Jesuit version, the chronicler has either intentionally omitted to mention the conquest of Malāīgaṛh or he had no knowledge of this phase of the battle. The details about the subjugation of Malāīgaṛh have been given by Abul Faḍl as he was a participant in this expedition. The fall of this fort was largely due to his leadership, courage and perseverance. And we have no reason to doubt his veracity.

2. Du Jarric and following him Mr. Smith have given their verdict that Bahādur Khān was called up by Akbar on a false promise and by way of cunning and deceit because he had failed to capture Asīrgaṛh by force. This allegation has not been substantiated by the facts. This was not the first call of Akbar on him but persuasions and negotiations had continued for a long time before his final surrender as it is evident from the following data :-

(i) On 21 April, 1599 Abul Faḍl met Bahādur Khān and requested him to cooperate with the king in the Deccan campaign but he refused to take the field personally.

(ii) On 8 February, 1600 when asked to meet Prince Dāniyāl at Burhānpur who was on his way to the Deccan, Bahadur did not come to see him. (2)

(iii) Khwāja Maudood, Mīr Ṣadr-i-Jahān and Peshro Khan were sent to him one after another at intervals for advice and persuasion. (3)

(iv) On 19 March, 1600, while Abul Faḍl was on his way back from the Deccan, he was asked by the Emperor to meet Bahādur Khān and warn him of the consequences.(4).

(v) On 15 May, 1600 Bahādur Khān sent his grandmother and younger son with sixty elephants requesting pardon and protection but Akbar stood fast and said he should come to the court personally.(5)

(vi) During the siege, Akbar wrote to him a word of advice. Bahādur Khān sent Sa'adat Khan, his brother-in-law with 10 elephants but did not go himself. (6)

1. A.N., III, p.752.
2. Ibid., p.766.
3. Ibid., p.767.
4. Ibid., p.769.
5. Ibid., p.771.
6. A.N., III, p.776.

(vii) Bahādur Khān offered his daughter in marriage to Sultān Khusro. (1)

(viii) During the siege of Malāigarh, Rām Dāss was sent to him on 15 November, 1600.

(ix) Bahadur Khan sent Muqarrib Khān, the Abbysinian, requesting Akbar to send Mirza 'Azīz Koka who would lead him by the hand in the presence of Akbar. (2)

From the above statements it is clear that Bahādur Khān was not, all of a sudden, duped to come down from the fortress. Moreover we should also bear in mind that he was greatly indebted to Akbar for his succession to the throne of his father. He was installed on the throne of Khandish according to the proposal of Abdur Rahīm Khān Khānān and by the orders of Akbar. Moreover his father Rāji 'Ali Khān had fought for Akbar in the Deccan campaign and given his life on the battle field. Akbar expected him to come forward with all possible assistance but he stood as a hindrance in his way. He had taxed and tried the patience of Akbar by his foolish resistance. Did Mr. Du Jarric and Mr. Smith expect Akbar to be sympathetic towards Bahādur after he and his army had suffered so much due to his offensive behaviour. Akbar was not an angel, he was a warring monarch and a conqueror.

Farishta's remarks.

Farishta says, "Bahādur was mentally weak and he lacked experience. He was addicted to hemp, opium, (3) wine and loved company of lady-singers and musicians". It appears that he was ill advised when he

1. A.N., III, p.776.
2. Ibid., p.779.
3. Five hundred maunds of opium (Akbari weight) was found in the fort after the conquest. (Zubdatut Tawarikh, Ms. fol. 197 a.)
Ma'āthir-i-Rahīmī, vol.II, p.469.

refused the offer of assistance to Akbar and fell back in his fortified refuge thinking that the inclemency of winter, the dearness of commodities and the duration of the siege would ultimately force Akbar to retreat and take off the siege. In taking this measure the Portuguese Government at Goa also helped him to strengthen the fortification. They entered into alliance with him, supplied artillery and ammunition and sent seven tried captains to defend the fortress. In doing so they wanted to place Khāndīsh as a great hindrance in the further advance of Akbar because the missionaries had reported that the Emperor, if successful, would have no difficulty to come and conquer Goa and other Portuguese possessions. Bahadur resisted for 10 months but he had to give in as he was brought to bay by the pressure of circumstances".(1)

Du Jarric states that Bahadur was invited by the Emperor in order to speak to him personally and had given him promise to let him go back without let or hindrance. Admitted, but he should have gone before Akbar just like an independent king goes to meet an independent king. Why did he put on a'chapperon' about his neck as a mark of subjection when he went before Akbar. This is self contradictory. The true story is that he had no alternative but to surrender.

Bias of the Jesuits.

Mr. Smith asserts that the Jesuits had no personal bias against Akbar, and therefore, the version of Du Jarric is based on unquestionable authority. The remark about the 'bias' might have been true at the beginning when the Fathers came to the Court of Akbar with missionary zeal for the conversion of the Emperor, and they were very cordially received and honoured. But

1. Farishta, vol. II, p.565.

later on in 1600-01, i.e. during the period of third mission, their religious object was combined with political motives. Their king wanted information about the Emperor and his movements. (1) They had reported that 'having conquered the kingdom of the Deccan, he would have little difficulty in overcoming Idalcan, after which he would soon have Goa and all other Portuguese possessions in those parts" (2). Though the Fathers had freedom for worship and preaching and other comforts provided by Akbar, yet they were not satisfied with this much. Their ultimate aim was the conversion of the Emperor and by the year 1600 they had nearly been disallusioned. Their mission had failed despite all the hardships of their journeys and harsh treatment at the hands of the people. "All this was distasteful to the Fathers: "Giving the pearls of the Gospel to the king", as Monserrate puts it, "was exposing them to be trampled and trodden under foot". (3) By July, 1599, Father Xavier pointed out to the king, the irksomeness to the Fathers of being compelled to stand idle. (4) To crown all, the Fathers knew that the Portuguese Government had made an alliance (5) with king 'Miram' now hostile to Akbar. Every fair minded person can see for himself that the 'bias' of the reporters existed. They freely reported Akbar as 'master of cunning and deceit". (6)

As regards the authenticity of the reports of the missionaries we are prepared to believe them but not before ascertaining the particulars from other native sources because as foreigners they did not know the

1. J.R.A.S.B. vol. XV, 1896, p.109.
2. Du Jarric, p.113
3. Commentarious, p.4
4. The Jesuits and the Great Mughal, p.57.
5. Du Jarric, p.104. ff.
6. Ibid. p.104.

language and had no adequate knowledge of the creeds and customs of the country, and therefore at times, intentionally or inadvertently, they have misrepresented and misconstrued things. For example, in the episode of Asīrgarh alone they have made mistakes in many details as pointed out by C.H.Payne. This much is known that Father Xavier and Brother Goes accompanied the king to Burhanpur but there are no original letters written by them relating to the details of the campaign of Asīrgaṛh. Therefore, we cannot definitely say whether or not the report in question is based on their writing or gathered from some other sources.

4. Du Jarric states that the officers of the defence were bribed. He further says that there were seven Portuguese captains and one Abbysinian, the Governor's son who held the chief posts of defence. It is confirmed in the same chronicle that the Abbysinian committed suicide, the seven captains were made prisoners and were being maltreated but at the request of Father Xavier they were handed over to him and he converted them to Christianity. This statement is also self-contradictory. If Akbar had bribed the officers and they acted according to his wishes, he would have been very grateful to them and would have rewarded them handsomely instead of treating them cruelly.

5. Du Jarric's knowledge of details is meagre and incorrect. It appears that the story is based on hearsay. He states that there were seven princes, the successors to the throne, all living a secluded life in the fort according to their family traditions. But this number is incorrect. Abul Faḍl states that fifty three members of the Royal family including Bahādur Khān's uncles, brothers and sons came down from the fort. He had given names of many of them. He enumerates that there were five sons and six brothers of Bahādur Khān.

6. Mr. Smith says that Akbar committed a shamef

perfidy when he broke his promise to Bahādur Khān. But on reading Abul Faḍl's Akbarnāmah between the lines it comes out clearly that Muqarrib Khan, the chief messenger of Bahādur Khān represented before Akbar that according to traditions of the Fārooqi Dynasty, the members of the Royal family, specially the likely successors to the throne should lead a secluded life in the fort as long as the reigning king lived, and requested the Emperor to give the fort and property for their livelihood and this was accepted by Akbar. He further granted them security for their life and honour, and this promise was kept up to the last. He neither maltreated nor killed any of them.

Farishta's account of the fall of Asirgarh.

Farishta, a contemporary historian of Akber, has also recorded the fall of Asirgarh. His statement cannot be ignored or set aside without any solid reason. Mr. Smith has not cared to pay heed to any of his assertions. Farishta's account runs as under :-

"Bahādur Khān due to his indiscretion and foolishness had taken up in the fort 18000 of people from amongst the public like grocers etc. along with horses, elephants, cows, buffaloes, sheep, goats, birds and pigeons etc. besides the members of his family, soldiers, servants and other men necessary for service and guard of the fortress."

"I learnt from Āṣif Khān, Mirza Ja'far and Muḥammad Sharīf (three grandees of Bahādur Khān)," states Farishta, "80,000 of the males and the females came out of the fort after the conquest. Forty thousand people had died on account of stink and epidemic and one can guess the number of animals which would have died due to the disease. After 10 months of siege the air of the fort was affected owing to the congestion of men and animals. The men and the cattle began to die and a terror like the Doom's day came in sight and

restlessness and consternation spread among the garrison. In the meanwhile a news spread among the people that Akbar had appointed some men well-versed in magic and talismanship to recite such incantations as to subjugate the fortress. He himself is engaged in reciting the names of the sun which cause the downfall of the enemies and this he has previously exercised with good results. These deaths and the epidemic are due to that influence. In short Bahādur Khān and his companions lost heart on hearing this news and did not make effort to expel the surplus number of men and the cattle nor did he take action to remove the cause of stink. Besides this Bahādur Khān did not listen to the persistent complaints made by the soldiers and guardians of the fort in respect of poverty, distractedness and scarcity of food and grain. He passed his days unmindful of the situation developing in the army till they showed lassitude on their guard. Even the garrison made up their mind to catch hold of him and his relatives and hand them over to Akbar. At last after mutual consultations the courtiers agreed to surrender the fort to the Emperor on assurance of security for life and property. I visited the fortress in the company of Khwāja Abul Ḥasan Turbati (1) in the year 1023 A.H.(1614)".(2)

Khāfi Khān tells another story in connection with the surrender of Asīrgarh. He states that Bahādur Khān and his ancestors had faith in saint Shaikh Burhānud Dīn on whose name the city of Burhānpur was founded. The Shaikh had pointed out a big stone, prophesying that the Farooqi dynasty would be overturned when this stone was transformed into an elephant. Akbar

1. Tārikh-i-Farishta, vol.II, p.565-68.
2. Abul Hasan Turbati. He hailed from Turbat, a village in Khurāsān. He joined the court of Akbar and was appointed Divan or finance minister to Prince Daniyal. He participated in many difficult expeditions, in the reigns of Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shah Jahān and enjoyed great respect from them. He died in 1042 A.H. He was an honest man and a brave soldier.

heard this prophesy and playing upon the credulity of Bahadur Khan, ordered some of the sculptors to mould the big stone into the shape of an elephant. When it was completed the news was carried to Bahadur Khan who lost heart on learning the fulfilment of the saint's prognostication.(1)

Pestilence as one of the causes of the fall of Asirgarh.

Besides Farishta, Mu'tamad Khān(2), Faidi Sirhindi,(3) and Abdul Bāqi Nahāwandi (4) have also referred to the spread of epidemic in the fort. The following three authorities also refer to the fall of Asirgarh due to some epidemic or other.

There is the testimony of no less a man than De Laet who wrote in 1627 A.D."Asīrgarh, under the last king of Gujrat (Bahadur Khan), is said to have been equipped with 600 war-like engines. Akbar the Emperor of Mughals, compelled it to surrender after a long siege. They say that innumerable worms live in the water of tanks so that those who drink the water swell up and burst asunder".(5) Besides giving other causes for the surrender of Asirgarh, Khāfi Khān states that [illegible] (animal worms) sprouted up in the grain reservoir and intolerable odour spread out and it became impossible for the cattle to swallow it. The people could not touch it.(6)

William Finch visited Burhanpur on 1st of March, 1610, only ten years after the fall of Asīrgarh. He reports, "It (Asīr) hath had in the days of Badur Sha, late king thereof some six hundred pieces of [illegible] ordnance. The Acabar besieged it long time, circling it on all sides and at last took it by composition; for it is said that there bred worms in all the waters that the people swelled and burst with drinking thereof, which mortalitie cause him to compound and deliver it,

1. Muntakhabul Lubāb, p.314-15. 2. Iqbalnāmah, p.471.
3. Akbarnāmah, p.145 (E & D, vol.VI)
4. Ma'athiri Rahimi, II, p.471.
5. Empire of the Great Mughal, p.31.
6. Muntakhabul Lubāb, p.315.

being by mere humane force invincible".(1) It is evident from this statement that the news of such a big event was still current in that territory that a foreign traveller learnt it from some source or the other.

All of these reports regarding the spread of epidemic and causing the surrender of Asīr could not have been concocted only to repudiate the Jesuits' version because the latter did not mention this cause. Mr. Smith had been too quick to arraign Abul Faḍl of falsehood on this account. Shall we presume that Mr. Smith did not see these reports made by unbiased persons or say that he intentionally omitted to refer to them ?

---

1. Early travels in India, p.140.

3. Campaign against Shah ʿAli's son.

Aḥmadnagar was conquered by Khān Khānān in 1009 A.H. (1600 A.D.) (1) but its administration was loose. The mischief-mongers were busy. The commodities became dearer. The interested Deccenis could not sit still. They raised Shah Ali's son as their new Niẓāmul Mulk. Shah Ali was the uncle of Murtada, the Niẓāmul Mulk (972-996 A.H.). At first, Khān Khānān was appointed to proceed against Shah Ali's son and Abul Fadl was detailed to advance to Nasik (2) to curb the disturbances of Rāju. (3) Abul Faḍl had hardly organised the expedition against Rāju for the conquest of Nāsik when on 13 February, 1601 he received orders to come back and, in conjunction with Khān Khānān, bring the affairs of that side to a successful end. Abul Faḍl had no alternative but to obey the Emperor's command. He wondered at these unusual orders and ascribed them to the undu influence of the interested people upon the Emperor. (4) He joined Khan Khanan near Barngaon.(5) Suddenly the news arrived that Vankko, a landlord had amassed 5000 horsemen and 12000 soldiers to conquer Aḥmadnagar. Khān Khānān turned his attention towards him and asked Abul Faḍl to pursue Shāh ʿAli's son. (6) On 7th March, Abul Faḍl arrived at the bank of the Godavri. The other officers appointed for that purpose also joined him. On 9th March, the fort of Kalnāh (7) was taken. This was the strongest fort of the Aḥmadnagar state under the control of Sa'adat Khan who willingly handed over the keys to Khwājgi Fatḥullah.

1. A.N., III, p.775.
2. Nāsik. A district in the central division of the Bombay Presidency, lying between 19° 35' and 20° 53'N and 73° 15' and 74° 56'E. It is bounded by the district of Khāndish, Nizam's dominions, Ahmadnagar and Thana district. It is famous for its archaeological remains.
3. A.N., III, p. 784.
4. Ibid., p.785.
5. Barngāon. Varangāon-town in Bhasāwal taluka of East Khandish district, Bombay, situated in 21°1'N and 76°E.
6. A.N., III, p.788.
7. Kalnāh or Galnā is a strong fort in Mālegāon taluka Nasik district, Bombay, situated in 20°46' N and 74°32'E.

When the king was at Burhānpur, Shāh 'Ali's son sent his message of submission. The interested persons at the Court, who were in haste to leave for the capital, prized the offer very much and presented it with strong recommendations. They got the charter of peace from the Emperor and despatched it through Harbans. The messenger met Abul Faḍl at the bank of the Godāvri and asked him to stop his advance. Even hot words were exchanged between them. When the disturbances at Telingānā (1) broke out and 'Ali Mardān Bahādur and Mirza Yūsuf's son were arrested and the news about the withdrawl of the Royal troops became current, Shāh 'Ali's son became active again. (2) Abul Fadl was very judicious in sending troops to regain Telingānā under the command of his own sons. He also persuaded some tried commanders like Bahādurul Mulk and Sher Khwāja to fight the enemy. Shah Ali's son had also sent his troops composed of the Deccanis and Abbysinians to meet them. The Imperialists inflicted a defeat on them. (3) As soon as Shāh 'Ali's son knew about the crushing defeat at Telingānā he begged forgiveness and expressed his willingness to keep the peace. He now honoured the messenger and sent him back with Mirza Yūsuf's son. It was agreed that when Ali Mardān Khān was also released and Shah 'Ali's son signed the charter of surrender and obedience, he should be allotted the country of Orissa, Dharwar (4) and a part of Bir so that he might live in peace. (5) The Khān Khānān accepted the terms of the treaty. Abul Faḍl was not happy at this agreement. Mu'tamad Khan remarks, "It is now the 18th year since that event, and now the truth

1. Telingānā. It is a natural division of the Hyderabad state. This is a land of rice and tanks. Rivers run dry in hot season. The water is stored in artificial reservoirs. Nander was the capital of Telingānā, which is situated 19° 9' N and 77° 20' E on the left or North bank of Godāvri.
2. A.N., III, p.792.
3. Ibid., p.791.
4. Dharwar. A town in Bombay, situated in 15 27 N and

(continued....)

of Abul Faḍl's note of dissent is being realized. (1)

It was not long after this treaty that the news arrived about Shāh 'Ali's son having collected forces in Dharwar fort and his having entered into the Ūsā mountains. Abul Faḍl intended to advance early in the morning but owing to difference of opinion among the officers, the execution of the plan was postponed. After a short interval Shāh 'Ali's son gave up his arrogance and submitted letters of apology.

Though Abul Faḍl did not participate in the conquest of Tellingānā, yet it was conquered under his direction. He despatched his son Abdur Raḥmān on this mission and detailed 1200 horsemen with him. He also nominated Bahādurul Mulk, Rustam-i-'Arab and Shamshīr-i-'Arab to join him and sent letters of persuasion to Sher Khwāja so that he should provide every facility to him and fight the enemy in unison with him. The credit of initiative goes to him. If it went out of the possession of the Imperialists, it was due to the weakness of the officers incharge of that place.

Campaign against Rājū

After the conquest of Asirgarh and Ahmadnagar, the grandees pressed for the Emperor's return to the capital. But the king wished to sweep away the disturbing elements from the state of Ahmadnagar, and to gain allegiance of the rulers of Bījāpur, Golcunda and Bīdar. As soon as the letters of their obedience were received, the nobles and the soldiers requested the Emperor to return home. On 21st April, 1601, the Emperor left for Agra. (2) The soldiers of Abul Faḍl's

(continued from back page...)
75 1 E, on the Southern Marhatta Railways. The fort stands on undulating ground and is hidden from view on East by trees.
5. A.N., III, p.793.

1. Iqbālnāmah, p.479.
2. A.N., III, p.789.

army were also longing for their homes. On 22nd many left him without permission. (1) When the news of the Emperor's return resounded, the Deccanis revolted again. Sultān Dāniyāl called his family from Aḥmadnagar and this action gave them another opportunity of encouragement. In a skirmish, Ja'far, the son of Mirza Yūsuf' fell into the hands of the insurgents. Abul Fadl was not deterred by this mishap, he continued to struggle with becoming dignity and patience. In the meantime Rāi Singh, Rai Durgā and Rāi Bhoj joined him. On 6 May, he received twenty elephants, 20 hatnāls, 10 horses and some equipment from the Court. (2)

Rājū was a slave and chamberlain of Sa'ādat Khān, a courtier of Burhānul Mulk and now the ruler of Nasik. Though Nāsik was surrounded by the Imperialists yet Raju organised a coup de'etat, and, with the co-operation of his master's servants took the elephants and other equipment into his possession and became the virtual ruler of that country. He became active all-round, gaining victory after victory, adding territory to his dominion and thus collecting material and wealth. Prince Daniyal had sent Khwājgi Fatḥullāh along with Sa'ādat Khān and others to take care of Nasik but they met with no success. They were sent back again. When they reached Babul (3) Raju confronted them. They could not stand his attack and retreated to fort Soongarh. (4) He besieged it for a while, resorted to looting; got

1. A.N., p.789.
2. A.N., III, p.790.
3. Babhulna. A pass in Nasik district.
4. Soongarh. A fort in Parbhani district, Aurangabad sub-division, Hyderabad State.

hold of bag and baggage belonging to Sa'ādat Khān and others at Pathri (1) and again came back to the fort for attack.(2) Suddenly the news came round that 'Azmat Khān had come with a force. 'Ināyatullah was also approaching from Burhānpur and Abul Fadl's arrival was almost certain. He at once gave up the siege and turned towards Daulatabad. On his way he captured the Kalnā fort for a bribe of 2000 Huns (3) to Yaqūb Beg Shighāli and Saeed Beg Badakhsi, who had been entrusted with this important fort by Khwājgi Fathullah.(4)

Though Abul Fadl had been appointed for some other duty yet owing to his staunch fidelity to the cause of the state, he undertook to punish Raju. On the 20th August, 1601 A.D. he set off from the bank of Godāvri where he had built up his quarters near Hasanābād. As a precautionary measure against the sudden assault of Shāh 'Ali's son, he left Mir Murtada, Wafādār and some other brave men to guard that station. He marched quickly to Rahuri.(5) Rājū doubted the arrival of Abul Fadl but when he knew it for certain, he left Jalnāpur without any resistance. Abul Fadl rehabilitated the fortunes of the city and its neighbourhood which was nearly deserted.(6)

Abul Fadl left his family at Rahuri and proceeded to Daulatābād. Rājū withdrew to the hills and settled in a bewildered state near the tank of Qatlū. Abul Fadl followed him through the passes of the mountains, his idea being to come to close quarters with him. But Rājū avoided the open conflict. He went by another road and while passing, plundered Satara (7)

1. Pathri. Headquarters of the Taluka of the same name in Parbhani district, Hyderabad state, situated in 19° 15'N and 76°27'E.
2. A.N.,III, p.798.
3. Hun. It was a gold coin current in the Deccan. It was thought to be pure and reckoned at 10 degrees (Ain,I, p.14)
4. A.N. III, p.799.
5. Rāhūri. Central taluka of Ahmadnagar district, Bombay, lying between 19° 16'N and 19° 37'N and 74° 23'E and 74° 51'E.
6. A.N.III, p.794.
7. Satārā. A town and district headquarters, Bombay,

Contd...

and some other places.(1) In the morning Abul Fadl came down from the hills. The downward march was slow. He pitched his tents at Chatwāra. In the evening, Rājū appeared with a force. Though the troops were not arrayed in battle order, yet some active men engaged him. Raju's men numbered 5000 strong. Abul Fadl had 300 only. In spite of the strength of the enemy the victory fall to the lot of the Imperialists.(2) Next morning, Rājū again turned up to fight. 'Ādil Khān, I'tibār Khan and Rai Gopal of the vanguard gave him a tough fight. He was receding according to his plans but in a sudden rush fell down from his horse, but again lifted himself into the saddle and escaped. Abul Faḍl's soldiers pursued him three miles upto Daulatabad. The garrison of Daulatābād came to his rescue. The pursuers were about to be defeated when Abul Faḍl came up and drove the garrison back. At the close of the day, the enemy made another attack, but was repulsed with loss of men. Some of the soldiers were made captives. For some days Rājū did not turn up. On the 28th August, 1601, he came up with a big force but fled away after a severe defeat.(3)

Again, on 29th September, 1601, dividing his troops into groups, Rājū came upto the Royal camp. Every group withdrew itself behind the hills. Before the soldiers of the Royal army could array themselves, some of them turned their backs to Daulatābād. The news broke out that Rājū had slipped away. Abul Fadl followed him and detailed troops to punish him.

Contd..7.
lying between 17° 30'N and 73° 48' and 74° 10'E, with an area of 339 sq.miles. It includes 3 valleys of the Kistna, Vena and Urmudi rivers which are open and slope gently the base steep and bare hills.

---

1. A.N.,III, p.795.
2. Ibid, p.796.
3. A.N. III, p.796.

They pursued him upto the city and came back. On their way back they heard that Rājū had gone out for looting. On his way back, he fell upon Muḥsin son of Ghāzi Khan and arrested him. Mirza ʿAli, Qāsim Khwāja, Mirza Zāhid and others engaged and fought him right into the interior of Daulatābād. He was at the point of being arrested when he threw himself into the ditch. Much of his bag and baggage was plundered. About 500 horses and a good deal of property fell into the hands of the Imperialists as booty.(1) As soon as Abul Faḍl came near the fort of Daulatābād, a cannon ball, weighing ten maunds, was shot; a portion of the fort wall fell down with its shock. The inmates of the fort clamoured for protection. Abul Faḍl had to come back to his camp in the evening. Rājū was brought to bay. But, it appears that the army officers with Abul Faḍl were not united among themselves. Therefore, the campaign did not go ahead according to his own wishes. Abul Faḍl says, "If officers of the army had stood up steadfastly, that the thorn of mischief must have been finally pulled out".(2)

In the beginning of 1602, Abul Faḍl went to see Prince Dāniyāl at Burhanpur and expressed his disappointment at the behaviour and treatment of the officers. He requested that he might be sent back to the Emperor's Court. The Prince consoled him and paid a visit to his camp. Further the Deccan was divided into two portions by the Prince.(3) The administration of Berār, Pathri, Telingānā and the subjugation of Shāh ʿAli's son and Ambar, were entrusted to Khān Khānān. The affairs of Aḥmadnagar and the overpowering of Rājū and other insurgents were entrusted to Abul Faḍl.

1& 2. A.N., p.797.
3. A.N., III, p.802.

CHAPTER VIII

Abul Fadl's Assassination.

1. Abful Fadl's Recall from Deccan.

While Abul Fadl was engaged in fighting out in the Deccan, critical situation was developing at the capital. In 1600 A.D. Prince Salīm was despatched to Ajmer to bring under control the still rebellious Rana of Udaipur. He spent much of his time at Ajmer in self-indulgence.(1) The campaign against the Rānā was taken up late. As Rānā could not stand against the Imperialists in the plains, he resorted to plundering and threw himself behind the hills. The task was still un-accomplished. The Prince, of his own will or on account of the instigation of his bad companions, planned to carry out a coup de-main. He had designs to proceed to the Panjab, a far off province from the capital, but suddenly the news of disturbances of the Afghāns in Bengal, was received. Rājā Mān Singh who had accompanied the Prince during the campaign against Rana, advised him to set out forthwith to Bengal. But the Prince had another scheme up his sleeve.(2) He proceeded to Agra to capture the treasures at the Fort, in the absence of the Emperor who was still away at Burhanpur. Maryam Makānī, the Emperor's mother, came out to meet him but he went back to Allahābād without confronting her.(3) He confiscated men's fiefs, and took hold of the Bihar treasury worth about 30 lakhs of rupees. He also assumed the title of a king (4)

Having learnt the abandonment of the campaign against the Rānā by the Prince, the Afghan upheaval in Bengal and objectionable movements of Salīm, Akbar hastened to the capital in May, 1601. He addressed

---

1. History of Jahāngīr, p.37.
2. Ibid, p.39.
3. Ibid, p.40.
4. Ibid, p.40-42.

a letter to the Prince, questioning him of his dubious motives but the Prince gave an evasive reply, pleaded his innocence and expressed his desire to pay a visit to the Court. When he repaired to the Court, he brought a big army of his own with him. Akbar wrote to him that he should come to the court attended by a small retinue and if he had fears in his mind, he should go back and rest till his fears are allayed. (1) Akbar was dissatisfied and felt perturbed owing to this disobedient and dangerous attitude of the Elder Prince. He wished to seek advice in order to find out ways and means to bring round Salīm and check his advance. His trusted minister i.e. Abul Faḍl, was away. He wrote to him to come back post-haste and leave his army in the charge of his son.

As soon as Salīm learnt that Abul Faḍl was being called back, he was very much disturbed. He considered Abul Faḍl as his enemy and feared lest his arrival should endanger his own life. His suspicions were understandable because Abul Faḍl and he had not been on good terms since long.

Abul Fadl and Salim's relations.

Abul Faḍl's attitude towards the Prince can be made out from the references in the Akbarnameh. Upto 1005 A.H. (1596 A.D.), the Prince had been mentioned as the true representative of the Great Empire (2)"the pearl of the crown of felicitation" (گوہر اکلیل سلطنت) or درة التاج السلطنة In the same year, he reports that the Prince committed rudeness (ناہنجاری) twice but was pardoned by the Emperor. From this date onwards Selim is referred to only as elder prince or prince royal (بزرگ شاہزادہ)in the Akbarnameh. Salīm's youthful follies, his excessive indulgence in wine and his wild temperament, were highly objectionable for the calm and sober mind of Abul Faḍl. He must have expressed his own dislike and abhorrence of the Prince's

---

1. A.N., III, p.806.
2. A.N., III, p.735.

behaviour to the Emperor and must have shown less respect to the Prince.

In 1597 A.D., occurred an incident, of which Abul Fadl has given an account. He says that being too busy in his official duties, he could not fully attend to the Prince Royal. He became angry. The engious made false allegations and reported the matter to the Emperor. The Emperor gave an ear to their talk and became a little alienated from him.(1) On this, says Abul Fadl, "I withdrew myself from the Court and shut the door against friends and strangers. I said that I should be left along to pass my days in solitude. I had no desire of service even at the age of my puberty but the Royal favours compelled me to accept it. I impressed upon the Emperor that he should cause an inquiry to be made to find out the truth about the allegations against me and satisfy himself. After an inquiry, the Emperor learnt of the interested motives of the accusers and got reconciled with me". (2) The Prince was not successful in neutralising the influence of Abul Faḍl and he nursed a grudge against him. Mu'tamad Khān states in his history, under the year 1598 A.D., "Shaikh Mubārak, the father of Abul Fadl had written a commentary on the Qur'ān, without dedicating or referring it to His Majesty, the Emperor. Abul Fadl made out several copies of the commentary and sent them to Irān, Turān, Arabia, Turkey, Syria and other Islamic Countries without the consent of the Emperor. Akbar became angry. The Prince Royal who was already antognistic towards Abul Faḍl, got this opportunity to bring home to the Emperor the

1. A.N., III, p.735.
2. Ibid., p.740

hypocricy and disloyalty of Abul Fadl. Those who were opposed to him also fanned the fire to bring him down in the eyes of the Emperor. Abul Faḍl was put to shame and was debarred from attendance. After a while the Emperor showed favour and restored him to his old position". (1)

By the year 1602 A.D. Abul Faḍl had been elevated to the rank of 5000 and enriched with a gift of 50000 rupees. This royal favour and distinction, might have accentuated the antipathy of Prince Salim towards Abul Fadl.

"Salīm perceived that the influence of his bitter enemy would convert his father's erstwhile paternal lenience into stern assertion of authority and might even lead to his disinheritance". (2) "Blood alone could quench the fire that burnt in the Prince's breast". (3) He sent a message to Bīr Singh Bundela, the Rājā of Orcha, to the effect that Abul Faḍl was coming to Agra and he would pass through his territory, he should waylay him and kill him. The prince promised a handsome reward for this bold piece of task. Kesho Dass, the author of the Bir Singh Deo Charita (a biography in Hindi verse, composed in 1607 A.D. (4).), states that Bir Singh, owing to his own family dissentions and Akbar's hostile attitude towards him, had gone over to Prince Salīm at Allahābād to win his sympathy. There the Prince made this request to him. At first he hesitated and argued but was ultimately prevailed upon by the Prince. He said to Bīr Singh, "So long as the Shaikh is living, I am a dead man". He called Bir Singh his friend tied his own sword round his waist and sent him off.

1. Iqbālnāmah, p.457-58.
2. Beni Prasād, History of Jahāngīr, p.50. 3. Ibid, p.37
4. Calcutta review, May and June, 1934.

Abul Fadl's assassination.

Bīr Singh hurried to his country. When he got the news of Abul Fadl's arrival at Narwar (1), he at once crossed the river Sindh and lay in wait for the Sheikh.

Abul Faḍl, while still in the Deccan, was informed of the plot and was advised to change the route but he paid no heed to this report and said,"What power had the robber to block my path". At Sironj(2), he was persuaded to change the fatigued troops for fresh soldiers, recruited by an officer Gopāl Dās Nakta. He also dismissed Asad Beg, his faithful companion, who with tearful eyes entreated to be allowed to escort him up to Gwaliyār. At Sarāi Bar, a religious beggar informed him about Bir Singh's intended attack but he rewarded him and did not pay attention to his warning. During the attack a Paṯhan said to him, writes Kesho Das, "This is not the occasion for putting up a fight. Don't fall into the net of the enemy, remember Prince Salim is your enemy". The Sheikh said,

"How can I run away.
A warrior must die where he is molested.
Bir Singh has taken away my horse-tale banner.
It will be shame to run away".

The Paṯhan said," It is also the duty of warrior to kill the enemy before dying. If you have lost the banner, if you escape unhurt, many such banners will be made for you". The Sheikh was irritated and said,

---

1. Narwar, a town in Gwaliyār, Central India, situated in lat. 25° 39' 2" N and long. 77° 56' 57" E - 44 miles South of Gwaliyār.

2. Sironj, a pargana and town in Tonk State, Rajputana, under the control of the Bhopal. Agency of Central India, situated in lat. 24° 6' 23" N, and long. 77° 43' 30" E.

"I have conquered the Deccan,
Defeated the king of the country,
When Prince Murād went to Heaven
I took responsibility of the administration
on my shoulders.
The Emperor has full confidence in me.
How can I run away home.
If I follow your advice after losing the
banner
What explanation shall I give to the Emperor?
If my kettle - drums are taken from me,
What shall I beat when I shall reach home?
In my house people fall at my feet,
How will the Hindu fight against me?"

The Pathan said,
"Don't be rash, consider
The business of the sovereign.
If you wish to die at all
Die when the Emperor Akbar sees you.
Go straight to your lord and master
And drown Prince Salim in the ocean of sorrow."

The Shaikh was not satisfied with the reply and said,
"You say, run away,
The enemy is thundering on all sides.
If I am killed running away,
What will the people say of me?
Both in fleeing and fighting,death is certain.
I shall run away if I can,
But the burden of the Emperor's love
is on my head".

"It was a Friday morning, 7th Rabi-ʿul Awwal,1011 A.H.", (15th August, 1602) writes Asad Beg,"Abul Fadl rose up, performed his ablutions, clothed himself in the white garments, usually worn on Fridays, and put on gold embroidered robes of victory. He dismissed all

who had attended him from the neighbouring provinces. These were about 200 men, who could have been of great service, had he retained them. Hardly had the party gone a little far when the advance guard of Bundelās made an attack. Mirza Muḥsin, after reconnoitring the situation from an eminence, informed him about the strong armed force of the Bundelās. He advised him to hurry along. Abul Fadl retorted, "You mean we're to fly". The Mirza said, "It is no flying, let us go thus". He spurred his horse and said, "Let us go in this way as I am going, do you go, as far as Gwalior?" But Abul Fadl was deaf to all advice. Some one said, "Go and take shelter with Rai Singh and Raja Rayan who are staying at a distance of four miles, with 2000 men strong". But he shelved off the proposal with disdain. In the meanwhile the 500 Bundelas, clad in mail, had engaged the small number of Abul Fadl's retinue. A soldier caught the elephant which carried the standard and the drums. Gadāī Khān the tried servant of Abul Faḍl, siezed the bridle of his horse and exclaimed, "You be gone. This is our business". The brave companions fought and fell. A Rājput came up and struck the Shaikh with a spear piercing his back to the breast. There was a small stream nearby, the Shaikh tried to leap over it but fell in the attempt. Jabbār Khāsa Khail, who was close behind, slew the Rājpūt and then dismounting, drew the Shaikh from underneath the horse and carried him a little off the road."

"After a little while, Bīr Singh came up, dismounted, took up the Shaikh's head upon his knees and began to wipe his mouth with his garment. Abul Faḍl opened his eyes. Bir Singh saluted him and said, "The

all conquering lord has sent for you". The Shaikh looked bitterly at him. Bīr Sing swore that he would carry him in safety. The Shaikh began to abuse him angrily. Bīr Singh's attendants told him that he would not survive his mortal wound. On listening to this, Jabbār, drew his sword and killed many and was nearing Bīr Singh when he was slayed and trampled unto death. Bīr Singh rose up; one of his attendants cut off the Shaikh's head and started off, meddling with no one else".(1)

"When the head of Abul Faḍl was placed before the Prince", writes Kesho Dass, "he was enraptured and said, "Bīr Singh, you have given empire to me, you have established my authority as firmly as possible and I have become your bond slave for life. You have given a kingdom to me, I shall give a kingdom to you. A gold plate with pearls and other materials for annointing a king (Tilak) was at once sent for and Bīr Singh was declared Raja of Bundelkhand. A spear studded with precious stones, a royal umbrella and a pair of 'bangles' were presented to him".(2)

When the news reached Akbar, he was extremely grieved and distressed and said, "I am dying, show me the Shaikh. Life has been bereft of its pleasures". Asad Beg states that, that day and night, he neither shaved as usual nor took opium but spent his time in weeping and lamenting.

Serāi Berār as mentioned by Asad Beg, where Abul Faḍl was killed, appears to be the same as Bar ki Serāi or Serai Bar, mentioned by Tavernier,(3) in the itinerary of his journey from Narwar to Ḍholpur. He

1. Asad Beg's Memoirs (E&D vol.VI, p.156-160)
2. Calcutta Review, June, 1924.
3. Travels, Tn.V.Ball. vol.I, p.62.

located it at 3 kos, about 6 miles, south of Antri, nine kos north of Narwar and nine kos south of Gwalior. Tieffenthaler says that Abul Faḍl was killed near the ferry of the Sind river at a place close to Dhumgat, about two leagues to the West of Dehāla which is 10 leagues West of Datia. This is in fair agreement with the situation of Bar ki Sarai (1) (25° 58½'N, 78° 10½'E.)

The corpse of Abul Faḍl, without head, was carried to Antri (2) and honourably interred. The tomb is still there (26° 3½'N, 78° 3½'E).

Seventh Rabi ʿul Awwal is the date of assassination as given by Asad Beg. It corresponds to 15 August, 1602, but that day was Sunday contrary to the statement of Asad Beg who mentions the day as Friday He appears to be doubly sure because he refers to the fact that Abul Fadl put on white clothes usual with him on these days. The date given by him is wrong. The Iqbālnāmah gives first of Shahrivar of the 47th year of Akbar's reign which, according to the correct calculation of Mr. V.S.Bandrey, the author of the Tārīkh-i-Ilāhī, corresponds to Saturday, 14, August, 1602

Abul Fadl does not appear to have been popular among the Muslims and the Hindus. Aʿẓam Khān wrote the chronogram

یفعل الله ما یشاء و یحکم الله ما یرید - تیغ نبی الله سر باغی برید

Kesho Das says that when the news reached the Emperor's harem, the Hindu ladies were jubilant and there were rejoicings and music among the Rājkumārís. The best chronograms are those by Inayatullah who wrote

ابوالفضل آگاه دل [illegible] وزیر شاهنشاه حق جوی

Abdul Qadir Badayuni refers to بندهٔ ابوالفضل as the chronogram of his death.

---

1. Hodivala, p.591.
2. Antri. A pargana of Indor State under the Western Malwa Agency of Central India.
3. Calcutta Review, June, 1924.

CHAPTER IX

Abul Fadl as a man

Philanthropist. He was philanthropic by nature. He always had at heart the good of the common men, especially of the darvishes, and the religious scholars, the indigent and the dependent. But ʿAbul Qādir Badāyūni, a hostile mulla of the court, holds him responsible for the downfall of the learned and the stoppage and cancellation of the stipends and maintenance allowances of the saints, the poor and the orphans,(1) but at the same time contradicts himself when he states, "The Emperor (not Abul Faḍl) commanded the presence of the religious scholars and the saints in the court and examined their livelihood allowances and pious foundations. He showed respect to each of them according to their position and held talks with them in public and private and allotted a piece of land to each of them according to his own judgment. And whomsoever he knew that he enrolled disciples, held assembly of religious music or played some other tricks, or made saintliness as his business, despatched him to some fort or exiled him to Bengal".(2) He further adds that owing to their deplorable moral condition and bad deeds most of them deserved this downfall and degradation.

Abul Faḍl had great respect for the truly learned and the darvishes. In his letter to Mīr Maʿṣūm (3) he earnestly expressed his desire, "By the grace of God May this humble servant (Abul Fadl) serve wholeheartedly the cause of the indigent, the true worshippers, the recluse, real ṣūfis and the learned in the laws of Muḥammad.(4) He did a really excellent work when he was entrusted with the distribution of sayurghāls. In his private letters to the saints of the day he always assured them

---

1. Muntakhab, p.200 (N.K.Edn.)
2. Ibid., p.230.
3. Mīr Maʿṣūm. He belonged to Bhakkar in Sind. He wrote poety, his pen-name being Nami. He is known to have composed the Khamsa. He is the author of the Tārīkh-i-Sindh. He joined the court of Akbar as a commander of 250 in 1595. In 1603 he was sent to Shah Abbas of Iran as an ambassador. Died in 1606.
4. Ruqqaʿāt, p.167-68.

of his help and service.

Moralist. He was a great moralist and a man of very high ideals. A code of conduct, issued to the state officials preserved in the Mukātabāt-i-ʿAllāmi,(vol.I) his views on state and social ethics contained in the letters to Khān Khānān and Mir Sharīf Sarmadī (1) in the second volume, speak of his keen understanding and deep knowledge of human mind and heart. He gives very suitable advice(2) to Prince Murād on the latter's departure to Malwa and to Prince Dāniyāl on his posting to Allahābād, in 1005 A.H. (1596 A.D.)(3). These writings display great experience and learning, quite befitting a great minister like him.

His chief advice for the improvement of one's conduct is the formula of 'self-inquisition'. He says, "Man should devote a little of his time, once in a day, or once in a week, once in a month or even once in a year, to survey and examine his doings and failings in the past. He should contemplate and ponder over his acts of commission and omission and exercise a rigid self-control in worldly matters should try to amend his faulty behaviour, improve and better his attitude towards others".(4) This is a very practicable formula for a person gifted with intelligence and conscience.

Another most efficacious motto which he has proposed is a golden rule of تخلقوا باخلاق الله i.e. imbue yourself with the attributes of God.(5) He says, "Always try to act in your dealings in a manner as God would act in that situation. This is the noblest advice which, if acted upon, is bound to infuse life in the man and make him nobler day by day.

To a common man he says, "Be at peace with all

1. Mir Sharif Sarmadi. He is mentioned among the poets of the court of Akbar. He changed his first pen-name 'Faidi' to avoid conflict with the famous Faidi, the poet-laureate. He was a commander of 200 and served with Sharif Amuli in Bengal and Orissa in 1001 A.H. Died in Deccan.
2. A.N.III, p.598-99.
3. Ibid, p.822-23.
4. Mukātabat, p.98,99, 209.
5. Ibid, p.103.

human beings. Don't make your bosom the prison of malice. Don't be a flatterer. If you flatter a man, talk to him the bitter truth as well to compensate for the flattery. It is better to avoid the society of flatterers. Seek advice from the selfless wise persons. Don't be proud of your good deeds. Don't surrender yourself to anger".(1)

He was not only a theorist but also practised what he preached. He wrote in a friendly letter to Khān Khānān, "I wished I could roar, call you thousands of bad names, and empty my mind but the tongue is a noble substance and it should not be spoilt with abuse. And I could have sworn hundreds of times if I had not believed that to swear is prohibited".(2) We learn that his behaviour towards his relatives and servants was excellent. It is reported that he never used abusive language and never demanded explanation for the absence of his servants.(3) He would never dismiss his servant whom he himself had employed because he said, "If I did so, people would attribute it to my folly or imprudence, for the reason that, I was wrong in taking him into service without satisfying myself about his antecedents."

He was sober and serene and did not indulge in extravagant frivolity. He held that to cut jokes or make jests, is the worst blemish of a great man.

His forgiving nature.

He was a man of forgiving nature. He even pardoned his bitter enemies like Shaikh ʿAbdun Nabi, the Chief Sadr and ʿAbdullah Sultānpuri, the Makhdūmul Mulk, who had determined to ruin his family and had done nothing short of taking their lives. In his autobiographical account at the end of the Āin-i-Akbari, part III, he states that he made a steadfast vow that he would forget all wrongs done to him by bigoted men and entertain

1. Mukātabāt, p.209.
2. Ibid, p.114.
3. Ma'athirul'Umarā, vol.II, p.620.

nothing but kind feelings in his heart towards them. He could have easily taken revenge but he enforced his resolution and kept his vow to the last. Mu'tamad Khān accused Abul Faḍl of the murder of Sheikh Abdun Nabi. He says, "Many charges brought against Abdun Nabi were proved and he was handed over to Abul Faḍl for imprisonment. He further adds, "As Abul Faḍl had a long standing enmity with the Shaikh and he knew his murder would not have to be answered for before the Emperor, he strangled him to death and made public that he died a natural death".(1) This matter of "strangling Abdun Nabi has also been testified to by Badāyūni but he did not associate the name of Abul Faḍl with this crime. He was also hostile to Abul Faḍl like Mu'tamad Khān, a court historian of Jahāngir. He had the opportunity to watch the events from close quarters but he did not mention the name of Abul Faḍl in this connection. He wrote, "'Abdun Nabi was handed over to Rājā Todar Mal to give an account of seventy thousand rupees given to him on his departure to Mecca. He was kept confined by the Karoris.(2) One night he was strangled to death by a party.(3) We have a testimony of another contemporary of Abul Faḍl i.e. Shaikh 'Abdul Ḥaq Dehlvi, a man of great learning and excellent character, who wrote, "'Abdun Nabi remained confined in jail for a long time and died in the prison".(4)

Another incident is reported by the author of the Ma'āthirul'Umarā, which reveals his kind and forgiving nature. During the days when Abul Faḍl was incharge of the Deccan affairs, one day, in an assembly, in the

---

1. Iqbālnāmeh, p.357,58.
2. Karori, a revenue officer of a circle which yielded an average revenue of a karor of tankas per year.
3. Muntakhab, p.242(N.K.Edn.) (A.N.III, p.117.)
4. Akhbārul Akhyār, p.223.

presence of Daulat Khān (1) and Khān Khānān, in the course of conversation, Abul Fadl said, "A reference to a Hindi sword has been made in books but we have not seen it". Daulat Khān took it as a sarcastic remark against himself. He at once drew his sword and said, "This is a Hindi sword. One blow of it on your head will cut you twain up to anus". Khān Khānān held his hand and led him outside. The Shaikh was very much upset. Once again, Khān Khānān, with great persuasion took Daulat Khān to Abul Fadl and begged pardon. The Shaikh got up and embraced him and awarded him an elephant and a robe of honour and said, "On the other day I never meant to cast aspersions on you".(2)

Conscientious. He had a keen sense of duty; was faithful to his master, honest to the core and incorruptible. He prized the work of his master more than his own. While on his way to the Deccan, he went to see Bahādur Khān, the ruler of Khāndīsh, on behalf of the Emperor, to persuade him to come personally and give assistance in the campaign of the Deccan. He wanted to put Abul Fadl off with a bribe of valuable presents. He returned those presents with the remarks, "I have made a vow not to accept any present till four conditions are fulfilled. 1. That the bestower of the gifts is my friend. 2.That I should not value the gifts too highly. 3. That I should not have been anxious to get them. 4. That I felt necessity of them. Now suppose the first three conditions are satisfied in the present case, but as regards the fourth, the favours of the Emperor have extinguished every desire in me of accepting gifts from others".(3)

---

1. Daulat Khān. He was a Lodhi Afghān of the Shāhū Khail and was first in the service of Aziz Kokah. He was transferred to Abdur Rahīm Khān Khānān's service while the latter was entrusted with the command of Deccan. His courage was proverbial. Later he was won over by Sultan Daniyal and promoted to the command of 2000. Died in 1008 A.H. (Āīn,Tn.I,p.502,03)
2. Ma'athirul'Umarā, vol.II, p.7,
3. A.N. vol, III, p.752.

He was sincere in his actions and reported whatever was correct and true. Dishonesty was the most heinous of all crimes for him. If he differed from others on a certain subject, he expressed his opinion boldly and did not hide things on account of fear.

He maintained discipline and official etiquette when holding a certain position. During the time he was acting as plenipotentiary to the Emperor in the Deccan, one day, his beloved friend Mirza Abdur Rahīm Khān Khānān and Mirzā Jāni Beg (1) the ruler of Thatha, paid a visit to him. He was sitting in bed and looking into some papers of the Akbarnāmeh. He paid little attention to them and only said, "You Mirza, please sit down". Mirza Jani who had been the governor of a province, felt insulted at the rude reception and left him instantaneously. On a second occasion, Khān Khānān brought Mirza Jāni to the house of Shaikh Abul Fadl after along persuasion and solicitation. The Shaikh came to the door to welcome them and showed great humility and said, "We are the servants of the state and enjoy the same status of citizenship". Mirza Jāni was surprised at the behaviour and asked Khān Khānān, "Why was he so proud on the other day and why is he so humble this day?" Khān Khānān said, "On that occasion he had in view his position of being a plenipotentiary; the shadow was acting like its original being".(2)

His curious ways

He had some curious ways in his domestic life. On the new year's day, all the paraphernalia were displayed before him; he prepared a list of them and kept in his possession. He burnt all the account books. He distributed all his used garments to his servants except

---

1. Mirza Jāni Beg. He traced his descent from Chingiz Khān. His father Mirza Payindeh, was the ruler of Thatha. In 993 A.H. Mirza Jāni became the governor on the death of his father. Thatha was conquered by Khān Khānān in 1001. Mirzā Jāni was reappointed to Sind because thousands of his clan were prepared to follow him wherever he went. He accepted Dīn-i-Ilāhi. Died in 1009 A.H.
2. Ma'āthirul'Umarā, II,p.621.

the trousers which were put into fire in his presence.(1)

He had an extraordinary appetite. It is said that excluding water and fuel, the provisions of his food amounted to 20 seers in weight. His son, ʿAbdur Raḥmān used to sit at the table. The incharge of the kitchen also stood by them to attend on the Shaikh while eating. He used to prepare the dish twice the following day if he saw the Shaikh taste it twice. If there was anything insipid, Abul Faḍl asked his son to taste it and did not say anything to the servants. His son, afterwards, used to point out the defect to the incharge of the kitchen.(2) He was also generous towards others in the matter of feasts. During his stay in the Deccan, he lived like lords. In the area of 40 tents the carpets were spread for him. Every day one thousand special dishes were prepared and served to the officers. Outside his residence, a tent nine yards in length, was pitched up and therein, the khichri (mixed rice and pulse, cooked in ghee) was offered for the whole day long to all, low or high, whosoever showed an appetite.(3)

Love of Family.

Abul Faḍl had a happy family life. His grown up brothers were employed in state service, the younger ones were having their proper education. His sisters had been married to big officers and nobles. He received a big shock in the death of his father and Faiḍi, his elder brother. Though Faiḍi was elder to him yet Faiḍi held him in great esteem. Abul Faḍl often gave him sound moral advice and warned him against the pitfalls of a bad life.(4) He was married in a family distinguished for learning and nobility. He had a son named ʿAbdur Raḥmān, born on 12 Sha'bān, 979 A.H.(29, December, 1571 A.D.). The son grew to be a promising youth and helped his father in the Deccan campaign. His son was married by the Emperor to the daughter of Sa'ādat Khān Koka. Abul Faḍl himself, late in life had taken three more wives, a Kashmiri, a Hindu and a Persian.

1 & 3. Ma'athirul 'Umara, p.621.
2. Ma'athirul'Umara, vol.II, p.620.
4. Ruqa'at, p.74.

CHAPTER X

Abul Fadl - a man of letters.

Abul Faḍl was a man of great learning. He was a profound scholar. He had not only mastered the current Islamic literature in Arabic and Persian in almost all the branches of Science, Philosophy, History but was also well-versed in comparative study of religions. He himself propounded theories and held independent views on philosophical, political, social and religious matters. He appears to be a unique and prominent figure among his contemporaries. His colleagues mention him as ʿAllāmi Fahhāmi i.e. the most learned and the most intelligent. (1)

Abul Fadl distinguished himself as a prose writer and letter writer of a great merit in the history of Persian literature in India. The style of his writing has invoked unanimous appreciation from Indian scholars. His letters have been included in the curricula of the schools and most of the state correspondents or the writers of official letters have tried to imitate his style. We will discuss the characteristics of his style at the close of the critical review of his books.

Besides achieving a unique status in literary field he has also carved out an enviable position among the historians of India. We would judge the qualities of his work in the light of modern standards of criticism when we review his renownd Akbarnameh and Ain-i-Akbari.

---

1. Nizamuddin Ahmad mentions him as
افاضل پناه - معارف و حقایق آگاه - جامع کمالات صوری و معنوی علامی شیخ ابوالفضل
(Tabaqat-i.Akbari, vol. I, p.3.
(ii) Faidi says,
صد ساله راه میان من و اوست در کمال - در عمر گر ازو دو سه سال فزون ترم
(iii) Abdul Qadir Badayuni says.
شیخ ابوالفضل که او را علامی می نویسند
(Muntakhab, vol.II, p.198)

One is surprised at the versatility of his genius, when one comes across his selected verses in the course of his writings. He was gifted with poetic talent but he did not like to bring it into play. He could compose verses as it is evident from a number of quatrains he has written in his "munājāt" and from a chronogram consisting of 15 verses as given at the close of his introduction to the commentary on the sura "Fath" of the Qur'ān (1) The following quatrain has also been ascribed to him .(2)

نفسی دارم که هر نفس مه گردد - گویم که ریاضتش دهم به گردد
هر چند بجهد لاغرش می دارم - از یک سخن فضول فربه گردد

"I have a self which grows bigger every moment. I wish I could make it healthier after due exercise. With all my efforts I try to maintain it 'thin' but it grows 'fat' on hearing a vain word of flattery."

Abul Faḍl is very little known as a lover of art and calligraphy and as a critic of poetry. This aspect of his mind has been fully brought in his introductions and conclusions which have been preserved in the third volume of the Muqatabat-i-Allami. We will point out his qualities in detail when we review this book.

Abul Fadl's personality has not been fully revealed in any existing study, therefore, we have made a detailed critical study of his writings in order to bring into prominence various qualities of his head and heart.

---

1. Mukātabāt, vol. III, p.219-20.
2. Shamī-i-Anjuman, p.59.

1. Akbarnāmeh.

The Akbarnāmeh consists of three volumes. The first volume describes the conditions in which Akbar was born; the different horoscope prepared at the time of his birth and his lineage right from Adam to Humāyūn. Then follows a brief survey of events relating to the reigns of Timur, and his successors Bābur and Humāyūn. The volume closed with the history of Akbar upto the year 962 A.H. The second volume deals with the history of Akbar's reign from 963 to 981 A.H. The third volume carries the history from 982 to 1010 A.H. i.e. one year before Abdul Fadl's death. The 46th year of Akbar's reign was the last year of which he wrote an account. The two India Office Mss. No. 235 and 236 give, in addition to 46th year, the heading of "47th year", some poetry and a long khatime or conclusion.

Contents.

Abul Faḍl hoped to compile 5 volumes of Akbarnāmeh, four volumes covering the period of Akbar's life of four qarns i.e., 120 years and the fifth volume dealing with the Ā'īn i.e. the laws and administration of the country. This hope was expressed by him when he had chronicled the events upto 42nd year of Akbar's reign i.e. 1006 A.H. (1597 A.D.) But Abul Fadl lived only upto 1011 A.H. and so could carry on the history upto 46th year of Akbar's reign i.e. upto 62 years of Akbar's life.

The Akbarnāmeh was first published in 1866 A.D. by the famous publisher Naval Kishor under the orders of Mahārājā Mohinder Singh of Patiala. The Bibliothica Indica edition was published by R.A.S.B. between 1878-1887 A.D. It was translated by Mr. H.Beveridge in English and was published at Calcutta between 1897 and 1921.

A new Ms. of the Akbarnāmeh describing events upto Humāyūn's reign came to light in 1903. It was purchased by Sayyid 'Ali Bilgrāmī of Hyderabad. On close perusal it was found that the Ms. was a rough draft of the Akbarnāmeh by Abul Faḍl. It had been revised and at places missing verses had been inserted. There are many passages which do not occur in the printed editions. The following letters contained in this Ms. addressed by Humāyūn to the undermentioned persons, do not appear to have been preserved in other histories or collections of letters :-

1. Haider Mirza, the author of Tarīkh-i-Rashīdī.
2. Abdur Rashīd, the ruler of Kāshghar.
3. Abul Ma'āli.
4. Akbar describing his own accidental fall.

There are many important details in the Ms. which had been scored out in the later revised copies. For example an ode addressed by Kamran to Humāyūn when the former was delivered up by Sultan Adam, has been preserved in this Ms. only. There are two passages containing the dates on which the orders for writing the Akbarnāmeh were issued. The first date is that of 22 Isfandārmadh of 33rd year (Feb., 1589); the second is that of 26 Urdibīhisht of 34th year (April,1589 A.D.). An account of this unique Ms. copy is given in detail by Mr. H.Beveridge in R.A.S.J. 1913, p.115-ff.

The Calcutta edition of the Akbarnāmeh contains a continuation of Takmilah relating to the events of Akbar's reign from 47th year to the death of Akbar in 1014 A.H.(1605 A.D.). The preface is omitted and there is no mention of the author in this version but in a Ms. of the Akbarnāmeh vol.II, containing the same Takmilah, in the Panjab University Library, the author calls himself 'Ināyatullah Muḥib Ali in its preface. He states that he was inspired to write this Takmilah

by the brief, distorted and biassed account of the events pertaining to Abul Faḍl and Akbar, written by Muʿtamad Khan in his history entitled Iqbalnameh. The author is a great admirer of Abul Faḍl and has tried to write in the tone and style of Abul Faḍl. This Inayatullah appears to be no other man than the author of the Tārīkh-i-Dilkushā of Shāh Jahān's reign.

<u>Takmilah.</u> Another version of the Takmilah was translated by Lieutenant Chalmers, extracts of which have been given in vol.VI of the History of India by Elliot and Dowson. The original Ms. does not appear to exist. It was compiled under the command of His Most High Majesty (the name is omitted) by one ʿInāyatullāh. In the preface, the author calls himself ʿInāyatullāh only but in the concluding lines he mentions himself as ʿInāyatullah or Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ. He states that he was desired to write this continuation in the familiar common language like that of Akbarnāmeh, vol.I and not that of vol.III, which contains many obsolete and unintelligible words. This version is quite different from that given in the Calcutta Edition. "Perhaps", says Mr. Hodivala, "the true explanation is that the brothers (ʿInāyatullāh and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ) wrote it not jointly but successively. The version in which Jahāngīr is exculpated may be the one first drafted and compiled by ʿInāyatullāh. It may have been successively revised and recast, in accordance with later opinions or this or other points, by ʿInāyatullāh himself or Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambuh who speaks of himself as the pupil and protege of ʿInāyatullāh in his preface to the Bahār-i-Dānish. Jahāngīr's infatuation for Nūr Jahān, his weakness and other defects of character are the subjects of frequent animal version in the ʿAmal-i-Ṣāliḥ".(1)

1. <u>Studies in Indio-Muslim History</u>, p.583.

<u>Merits of Akbarnāmeh.</u> The Akbarnāmeh is an authentic record of events compiled by a contemporary who had all the sources of information at his command. Abul Fadl himself gives details about the sources which he employed in writing this book. He says, "He spent much time and labour in collecting information about Humāyūn and Akbar. He interrogated the old servants and members of Akbar's family, listened to the young men of good memory and good character and then reduced their statements to writing. The Emperor himself issued orders to the governors of the provinces to the effect that notes written by servants of long standing be copied and submitted to the court. He rewrote these notes in good language and read them in the presence of Akbar and then after careful sifting incorporated them in the book".(1) He obtained detailed information from the Record Office since it was established in the 19th year of Ilāhi Era (1575 A.D.) Abul Faḍl further states, "Great pains were taken to procure originals or copies of most of the orders. I incorporated many of the reports submitted by the ministers and officials of the Empire and foreign countries. In spite of this rich material there were contradictions in accounts. Many anecdotes were told by Akbar himself".(2) In a conclusion or Khātime to the third volume of the Akbarnāmeh, Abul Faḍl gives further details about his procedure in collecting material for this History. He requested twenty judicious men to write details about one event, then after careful comparison the most authentic report was accepted. But the events were not arranged strictly in chronological order, therefore, he rewrote them and incorporated the Hijri and the

---

1. A.N. vol.I, p.10.
2. A.N. vol.II, p.146. <u>Mukātebāt-i-Állāmi</u>, p.316.

Ilāhi dates with accurate precision. He made five revisions of the draft, at times amending the phraseology, polishing the language, correcting the headings, and inserting the verses in the text, before he was able to present the final copy to Akbar.

He fully utilized the following books for the history of Akbar's ancestors :-

Translation of the Tārīkh-i-Ḥukamā by Maqsūd ʿAli.
Rauḍatuṣ Ṣafā by Mīr Akhwand.
Ḥabibus Siyar by Khwāndmīr.
Tārikh-i-Umam wal Mulūk by Muḥammad b.Jarīr Tabri.
Bābur's Memoirs.
Humāyūn Nāmah by Gulbadan Begam.
Tārikh-i-Rashīdī by Ḥaidar Mirza.
Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī by ʿAbbās.
Tadkiratul Wāqiʿāt by Jauhar.
Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn and Akbar by Bāyazīd Biyāt.
Mir'at-i-Sikandari.
Tārīkh-i-Gujrāt.
Tārīkh-i-Afghānistān.

(the authors of some of these books have not been mentioned by Abul Faḍl)

In view of the fact that Abul Faḍl had to deal with the events of his own times, he was bound to observe sedulously the analytical method in writing his chronicles. The contemporary events cannot be evaluated on conceptual basis. Hence as regards his handling of the events and the socio-cultural forces of the times he was bound to adopt the empirical method with observation, experience and experimentation. The interviews with young and old and the accumulation of records from provinces and officials are two separate categories which needed synthesis and collaboration. Hence in matters of current affairs the empirical method was a realistic approach for the candid understanding of the

socio-cultural forces of the time. The judicious selection of relevant authorities in matters relating to the past history exhibits a spirit of synthesis; thus enabling the reader to visualise the linear drift of events from the remote past. Thus he employs inductive and deductive methods for sifting historical facts.

<u>Shortcomings of Akbarnāmeh.</u> In spite of all his carefulness some historical discrepancies have crept in, especially in the first volume of the Akbarnāmeh. Many of these have been pointed out by Mr. H.Beveridge, the learned translator of this book into English. For instance some of the very prominent discrepancies are as under :-

Vol. I. p.44. It is stated that Fakhr-i-Nisā was the wife of Nadīm Koka while she was the mother of Nadīm Koka. (Humāyūn Nameh, p.32)

p.73. The defeat of Jalāluddin Mankubarni is stated to have been in Ramaḍān, 624 A.H. which is incorrect. It actually occurred in Rajab, 618 A.H. (Tārikh-i-Jahānkushā Jowayni, vol.I, p.108).

p.78. It is recorded that Taranshīrīn was ruling in Transoxiana at the time of Timur's birth (736 A.H.). Actually Taranshīrīn had died before that date and Buzūn was ruling that country from 735-A.H.(1)

p.80. Abul Faḍl states that Timur defeated Yaldram on 10 Dhilḥaj, 804 A.H. while Ibn-i-'Arab Shāh gives the date as 27 Dhilḥaj.(2)

p.80. Abul Faḍl states that Timūr, after conquering Yaldram went to Ādharbāijān,

1. Muhammadan Dynasties, p.242
2. Ajāi'bul Maqdūr fī Akhbār-i-Timūr, p.130.

and stayed there for 18 months. This statement is misplaced. Timur went to Ādharbāijān before the battle of Angora and the period of 18 months referred to, is the interval between taking of Damascus in January, 1401 A.D. and the battle of Angora in July, 1402. Abul Fadl says nothing of the capture of Semyrna from the knights of St.John, which occurred after the battle of Angora, in December, 1402 A.D. and was one of Timur's greatest achievements. The whole of Abul Faḍl's account of Timur is very poor and bears marks of haste.(1)

p.82. Beveridge remarks, "Abul Faḍl's account in respect of Sultān Muḥammad Mirza son of Miran Shah is confused and unreliable. He was never a king". But Abul Fadl never mentioned him as a reigning king. Beveridge's translation of دولت پیرای as 'dominion holding', is incorrect and the inference from this epithet of his being a king is consequently incorrect. Daulat means 'felicity, good fortune, property, conquest". In modern Persian, it is equivalent to "state". Muḥammad Mirza has nowhere been mentioned as جهاندارا by Abul Fadl as stated by Beveridge.

p.83. Abul Faḍl says that "ʿUmar Shaikh Mirza was the fourth son of Abu Saʿīd". Beveridge remarks that he was the sixth son. He appears to have been mistaken. According to Bābur's Memoirs, Abul Faḍl's statement is correct.(2)

p.83. Abul Faḍl narrates that Yūnus Khān tried to capture the territory of ʿUmar Shaikh but could not. This is quite the reverse of Tārikh-i-

1. Beveridge, translation, p.80.
2. Bābur's Memoirs, translated by Mrs. Beveridge, p.13.

Rashīdī. ʿUmar Shaikh made over his capital Akhsi to Yūnus Khān and then repented and started war against him. He was defeated and was taken prisoner. He owed his life to Yūnus Khan's generosity.(1)

p.86. Shahr Bānu and not Mehr Bānu was the daughter of ʿOmar Shaikh as stated by Abul Faḍl. Mehr Bānu was two years older than Bābur.(2)

p.111. Abul Faḍl states, "Badakhshān was given to Humāyūn in 917 A.H. Actually it was given over in 926.(3)

p.119. Abul Faḍl's list of Bābur's children is very imperfect. According to Gulabadan Begam the number was 18.(4)

p.153. Abul Faḍl states, "Sher Khān prepared six hundred litters and placed in each an armed youth while maid servants walked on both the sides of the litters. By this strategy he conquered the fort of Rohtas". According to Dorn this story is false.(Beveridge.)

p.201. Abul Faḍl states that many days had not elapsed when Kāmrān came and took possession of Qandhār. The author of Tārikh-i-Rashīdī states that he took possession after a siege of six months.

p.206. According to Abul Fadl Humāyūn arrived at Herāt on first Dhilqaʿd, 949 A.H. but the actual date is 5th Shaʿbān, 950.

p.207. Abul Faḍl states, "Shāh Ṭahmāsp sent 100 horses with golden saddles. According to Bāyazīd there were three horses and later on six were added.(5)

1. Translation of Tārikh-i-Rashīdī by Denison Ross, p.96-97.
2. Translation of Humāyūn Nāmah by Mrs. Beveridge, p.31.
3. Translation of Tārikh-i-Rashīdī, p.387.
4. Humāyūn Nameh, p.8,9.
5. Bayazid Biyāt, p.14,15.

In describing the lineage of Akbar, Abul Fadl writes one link as under :-

Yalduz, Mangali, Tingir, Īl Khān.

According to Raudatus Safa the line runs thus:-(1)

Yaldūz, Tingir, Mangali, Īl Khān.

A glaring mis-statement appears to have been made by Abul Fadl in describing the incident of "Fire Ordeal", which he reports, "was proposed by the priests to the effect that they with the Bible in their hand and the Muslim scholars with their book in their hands should walk through the flames of the fire, to test the truth of each party". Abul Fadl further remarks that the learned hypocrite could not face the trial.(2) Badāyūni states that the test was proposed by Shaikh Qutbuddin of Jaleser and the priests did not come forward.(3) Father Monserrate, the participant in that assembly, corroborated Badāyūni to this effect that the proposal came from the Muslims but the priests rejected and could not agree to such a wild and barbarous offer. He enumerates the reasons for their rejection and disagreement with this proposal.(4)

In the preface to his translation of the Akbarnāmah, Mr. Beveridge remarks that "Abul Fadl was a great flatterer and unhesitatingly suppressed or distorted facts". But Abul Fadl insists on his own honesty of intention.(5) He says, "I wish I should not have been in the service of the King so that for anything I had written, the men with blind vision and dark heart should not have branded me as flatterer.(6) In spite of his wish it is obvious that Abul Fadl could not be expected to be an impartial judge of events and an unbiassed historian under the circumstances in which

1. Raudatus Safā, vol.V, p.908.
2. A.N., vol.III, p.255.
3. Muntakhab, events of the year 989 A.H.
4. Commentary, p.40-43.
5. A.N., vol.III, p.184.
6. A.N., vol.I, p.348.

Access to archives scope of his subject.

he lived and wrote. We should not expect something very scientific from him as a historian. History in those days was considered to be a record of "doings and sufferings of royal and noble personages, the exploits of warriors and the machinations of ministers". History had not attained the status of science through which the facts are determined and presented in their context in "Psycho-physical causality". Undoubtedly the facts and figures relating to the contemporary events recorded by him are historically very important and authentic.

There are ample details regarding the battles fought during the reign of Akbar. Abul Faḍl has taken pains even to mention the names of the commanders of the flanks, who took part in them. The events are arranged chronologically like that of a diarist who records important events on due dates. At times this method had a disadvantage. For instance the history of a battle which would have been recorded at one place, is interspersed with other events. Thus it lacks continuity and compactness.

Abul Faḍl wrote as a court historian. He mentioned the Emperor and other Royal Insignia with laudatory epithets. A tone of imperialist supremacy prevails all through his narrative. Though he is bold in expressing his opinion on every matter and would not spare the Royal Prince or Muzaffar Khān, in condemning their activities, yet he could not criticise Akbar, the Emperor.

Ever and anon when he found convenient he gave his view on state administration and state ethics. He appears to be no less than an ancient philosopher who had his own independent views. His instructions to the princes and the rulers are profound, grave and ideal. He ranks the person of the king as lord on earth

something like Divine bein

respect.

At times while

to philosophise on a

proposal of marriage for

Akbar, he explained the philos

necessity of life especially at th

period of wild emotions and strong pas

To keep the narrative self-explanatory has devoted a paragraph or two for outlining the history of the rulers to whom reference has been made connection with some historical event. For example he outlines the rise of Safavi dynasty on p.588; traces the origin of the rulers of Tibet and explains Mughal customs on p.635. A brief account of 'Uthmānī Turks is to be found on p.663-665. The lineage of 'Abdullah Khān Uzbak and his rise to rulership are given on p.737.

Style

When Abul Fadl contemplated to write the history he had in view the grandiloquent style of the histories like the Tārīkh-i-Waṣṣāf, Tārikh-i-Jahānkusha Jowayni, Sharafnāma-i-Yazdi, Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī and the Matla'us-sa'dain. Naturally, keeping pace with the fashion of the age he followed in the wake of his predecessors and adopted the ornate style. But he was not too much turgid, verbos and circumlocuted. Comparatively he kept balance and proportion between the matter and the form and did not drown the meaning in the labyrinth of complementry clauses, quotations and allusions. But undoubtedly the diction was laboured and unnatural. 'The writing of expressive prose, the mastry of a rich vocabulary, seems indeed to be more often the result of taking pains than of natural endowment'.

Towards the end of the 10th century of Hijra the revival of Persian culture was the order of the day in the court and Arabic was neglected. A movement towards the simplification of prose and the purification of Persian language appears to have been started. Most of the Āin-i-Akbari and the third volume of Akbarnameh had been written in the new style. Abul Fadl, himself a pioneer of the age, shifted from the difficult and laboured style to the new simple and direct style. At the conclusion of the second volume of the Akbarnameh he wrote, "Most of the old authors and many writers of the present day, who all hold the same language and string their words after one fashion and display a worn out embroidery, give all their attention to the ornamentation of words and regard matter subservient to them and so exert themselves in a reverse direction. They consider cadences and decorative style as the constituents of eloquence and think that prose should be evaluated like the works of poets. They make the collection of words, the art of derivation, the rules of paronomasia (ترصیع) and homonyms their chief concern. They expend their talents on quotations, the use of synonyms, allusions, the compilation of enigmatic phraseology and the reciting of the panegyrics and geneologies. They think that fantastic embellishments are the stock in trade of the linguist and do not care for the profundity of thoughts and eloquent expression. (1) Upto the year 1004 A.H. (1595 A.D.) his own style is full of the faults enumerated above. He is grandiloquent, poetic and rhetorical especially on four occasions :-

1. At the time he is describing a scene of spring or festival, e.g.,

گوش بشارت بگوشوارهٔ داد برآراستند. چهرهٔ آرزو را گلگونهٔ عیش زدند. ساعد تمنا را یارهٔ مقصود بستند
پای رقص بخلخال [illegible] درآورده بیرون شد. عشرت [illegible] و عشرت درآمد نیز و [illegible] بادی برکشیدند
اکبرنامه جلد ۲ صفحه ۱۹

1. A.N. vol.II, p.381.

2. When paying tribute to a king, prince or a royal personage, e.g.,

بادشاه چار بالش هفت منظر ... بلندی بخش بخت بلند - سعادت افزای عالم ارجمند

آسمان حوصله - زمین وقار - شیردل - دلیر شکار - ... بزم بر صورت - رفیع مقدار قوی دولت

ج ۱ ص ۶۷

3. While expressing gratitude or thankfulness, e.g.,

گیتی خدیو خدا پرست پیوسته نظام نثار گلابر و پیرایه امن و دولت ... آورد

افزودن بشری آسایش خود را در آسودگی جهانیان می داند

ج ۳ ص ۲۸۵

4. While making his own comments on a certain subject or on the occasion of self-musing, e.g.,

ای دیده دل و ... خاطر آگاه حقیقت درخشیده و بیداری ... گوش پرورش گشته ده اکنون

... مبارک ترا که در آرزوستان نیک اندیشی گزین منزل داده اند - چشم آگه بین چرا باز شده

ج ۳ ص ۲۹۱

While narrating events he is ornate to some extent but not too much of a rhetorician. He is more simple and direct. He did not lack sincerity and force. At times the words or sentences rhyme with each other but in general the juxtaposition of sentences is not without rhythm. In the third volume of the Akbarnāmeh he attempted to write in pure Persian, which was not welcomed by the scholars. The author of the Iqbālnāmeh-i-Jahāngīrī says," The language sounded very foreign and unpleasant to the ears and it was very difficult for people to understand it". (1)

Mr. Blochmann, the translator of the Āīn-i-Akbari, answers in a befitting manner to the adverse criticism of the Akbarnāmeh and Abul Faḍl, when he says,"Abul Faḍl has too often been accused by European writers of flattery and even of wilful concealment of facts damaging to the reputation of his master. A study of the Akbarnāmeh will show that the charge is absolutely unfounded; and if we compare his works with the

1. Iqbālnāmeh, p.2.

historical productions of the East, we shall find that while he praises, he does so infinitely less and with more grace and dignity than any other Indian historian or poet".

2. The Āīn-i-Akbari.

The Āīn-i-Akbari is the master-piece of Abul Faḍl's historical acumen and literary talent. It is a monumental work about Akbar's administration and his times. It is a compedium of information, which furnishes us with the minutest details on all subjects from the extention of his dominions to the produce of a blade of grass and the sale price of the smallest article that was available in the markets of those days. It shows the ingenuity and patience with which Abul Faḍl utilized the sources and exploited them to the best advantage. He has compiled detailed information with keen structural analysis. Posterity is immeasurably indebted to him for this historical work which has no precedent in oriental histories.

Purpose and scope.

Abul Faḍl himself says,"My sole object in writing this work was, firstly to impart to all who take interest in this suspicious century, a knowledge of the wisdom, magnanimity and energy of him, who understnds the minutes indications of all things created and divine, striding as he does over the field of knowledge and secondly to leave to the future generations a noble legacy. I describe some of the regulations of the great king, thus bequeathing all a standard work of wisdom". (1)

In the beginning of the third part of this book, he states that he had another mission in writing this book. He was convinced that the Hindus also believed in the oneness of God and that hosility to them was uncalled for. So he says,"It became indispensable for me to describe the system of philosophy and the

---

1. Preface to the Ain. (Translation by Blochman).

categories of rites and customs of this race, in order that hostility towards them should abate and dissentions should be replaced by peace and unity".

Contents. The Āin-i-Akbari is actually the fourth volume of the history of Akbar, the first three volumes being that of the Akbarnameh. The Āin is further divided into three parts. The first part comprises the rules and regulations about the treasury, coins and their values; administration and maintenance of infantry, cavalry and elephant corps; the King's life at Court and his household functions and ceremonies connected with the personality of the King; duties of the Chief Officers in the Civil and Military Departments and the crop statistics of the different provinces for nineteen years.

The second part deals with the "Tārīkh-i-Ilāhi" and its comparison with other chronological system. It describes regulations in respect of the officers of the army and surveys at length, the land classification and royal dues. At the end is a concise and brief account of all the provinces of the country.

The third part deals with the boundaries of India, cosmogony, astrological spheres, habitable land, the seven climes and the animal life. It gives a compact description of Hindu philosophy and of its different schools of thought. There is a chapter on Budhism and Jainism and details about eighteen sciences of India. This part further supplies information regarding the four divisions of life under Hindu religion, the customs and ceremonies of the Hindus at birth and death. Abul Fadl has devoted one chapter to the prominent kings and men who came to India from foreign lands from the time of Adam to that of Humāyūn. At the end is a chapter on the saints of India; a biographical account of his father and his autobiography.

In the third part there is also a brief account of forty eight of the famous saints who died in India. Abul Fadl gives the dates of death and the location of burial places in each case with a few exceptions. The special feature worthy of note is that the sufis and saints were held in great veneration by all the strata of society. No history of that particular period could be complete without devoting a portion of it to the biographical details. The other contemporary histories such as the Gulshan Ibrāhim by Farishta, the Muntakhab ut Tawārikh by Abdul Qādir Badāyūni and Tabaqāt-i-Akbari by Nizāmuddin Ahmad have also devoted a portion of their histories to pay tribute to these men of spiritual enlightenment. Abul Fadl appears to have consulted Jāmi's Nafahātul Uns because in the accounts of Abu Ishāq Shāmī (1) and Diāuddīn Abu Najīb Abdul Qāhir Suhrāwardi (2) a sentence or two have been borrowed verbatim from their account.

The details given by him regarding his father and ancestors are very important as very little information in this respect is available elsewhere. The true account of their sufferings and persecution at the hands of the bigoted Ulema at the Court shows us the background which ultimately brought about the overthrow of the supererrogated people and a change in the religious policy of the Emperor.

In the beginning of the Āīn-i-Akbari, part III, Abul Fadl states that he has been convinced that the Hindus worshipped one God and that they had no faith in plurality of gods. The images ofthe duties which they place before them at the time of worship, he believed were more aids to concentration. This conviction led him to study their religious books and expound their

1. Āīn, Pt.III, p.5.

faith so that the Muslims should behave tolerantly and give up their wholesale condemnation of the Hindus as infidels and idolators. Thus he wanted to promote peace and concord between the rulers and the ruled. So far as the oneness of God is concerned, this might have been the basic faith of the few, who adhered to the teachings of the Vedas. But as far as practice went, the majority of the Hindus were idolators. The oneness of God as preached by Islam is different. According to Islam none deserves worship except He. God is the creator, the nourisher and the destroyer in one. The Hindus believe, as Abul Faḍl himself states, (1) in the trinity of God, i.e. according to the scriptures, Brahma the creator, Vishnu, the nourisher, Mahādeva, the destroyer are three different gods. For the Muslims God is omnipotent and omniscient, and they beg help from none but Him. The Hindus solicit favours from each and every god. Abul Faḍl was a learned Muslim. He knew the real meaning of the oneness of God in Islam. How could he state that the Hindus also worshipped one and only God as the Muslims do. A student of history who had studied the development of Akbar's policy towards Hindus, finds no difficulty in making out the reasons for Abul Faḍl's point of view. Akbar was showering favours on the Hindus, acknowledging and performing their religious ceremonies, admitting their daughters to his seraglio against the religious injunctions and feelings of the orthodox Muslims. Abul Faḍl, his chief lieutenant, must in his own way, in keeping with the master's policy, do something to pacify the pent up passions of envy and anger of his co-religonists. To describe the Hindus as having the same faith in one God as Muslims, was his master stroke to bring them nearer to the heart of the

---

1. Ain, Pt. III, p.5.

Muslims and change the latter's sterner attitude towards the former. Otherwise, so far as his own attitude goes, his remarks belie his aforesaid statement. While relating events of the year 985 A.H. in the Akbarnāmeh, after appreciating the ability and wisdom of Rājā Todar Mal, he mentions an incident and says, "He was at the head of mortals for superstition and bigotry. His practice was that until he had performed his idol worship and had adored the deities after a thousand fashions he would neither attend to his business nor eat or drink. Suddenly one morning a commotion arose in the camp; the idols of that simpleton were lost. In his crass folly he abandoned sleep and food". (1) Assuredly Abul Faḍl could not speak of a worshipper of one God in such ridiculous and derogatory terms.

Sir William Jones, in his essay on the musical modes of the Hindus, reproaches Muḥammadan writers in general for the untrustworthiness with which they render the meaning of foreign authors in their own versions. He says, "They are wholly unable, yet always pretend, to write Sanskrit words in Arabic letters". From the just severity of this censure I except neither Abul Faḍl nor his brother Faiḍi... " (2) This charge of incorrect transliteration in respect of Abul Faḍl may be true because he did not know Sanskrit. Even Albīrūni who knew Sanskrit, is no exception to this imperfection. The fault does not lie in Albiruni or Abul Faḍl. It is a natural handicap in Arabic and Persian languages. "It is very difficult", remarks Albīrūni, "to express an Indian word in our writing, for in order to fix pronunciation we must change our orthographical points and signs."(3)

1. A.N. Vol.III, p.221.
2. Translation of the Āīn, part III, preface (quoted by Jarret).
3. Taḥqīq mā lil Hind, p.9.

Abul Faḍl realised this drawback; therefore, he has taken care to spell the Sanskrit or Hindi words and given the diacritical comments to facilitate their correct pronunciation. We agree with Mr. Jarret in whose opinion, "His (Abul Faḍl's) compilation is extremely careful and carried out with the most laborious and marvellous exactitude".

Originality - Jarret's criticism.

Mr. Jarret, the translator of the Āin-i-Akbari, says that Abul Faḍl was indebted to Albīrūnī's "Indica" and had borrowed the idea and the arrangement of his work from his great predecessor. In our opinion this assumption of Mr. Jarret's initiative is not correct. Albīrūnī wrote the book of his own initiative and studied Hindu language and sciences eagerly and mastered some of them for this purpose. Abul Fadl wrote his book under stress of circumstances and above all under the orders of his master. Decidedly the inspiration did not come from Albīrūnī. Moreover, Abul Faḍl's method of description is different. At places he has added some details which Albiruni did not know e.g., determination of the latitude of a place by the Hindus. The chapter on music is an addition by Abul Fadl. The articles on Sāṅkhiya and Pātanjali's philosophy are Abul Faḍl's own contribution. Albiruni has merely quoted Patanjali and there is no exposition of Sāṅkhiya's philosophy in his book. We think any one who wished to write about the Hindus, their philosophy, their religion and their customs etc. must deal with all the topics contained in Albīrūnī's Indica. If some of the topics taken up by Abul Fadl's are the same as those of Albīrūnī, Abul Faḍl's position as the successor should not bring on his head the accusation of being a borrower or a copyist.

The manner of his dealing with the topics, impresses upon the reader that he knew what he said. He described the pronunciation of the Sanskrit words, which further indicates that he himself ascertained the facts from learned pandits and scholars and then committed his observations to writing.

While annotating the account of Kābul province, Mr. Jarret accuses Abul Faḍl of direct plagiarism from the Memoirs of Bābur without acknowledgement. From a comparative study of the accounts it is obvious that Abul Faḍl borrowed some details from Babur but he is not quite silent about this fact. He has mentioned "Firdaus Makāni" i.e. Bābur, many times in the brief account of Kābul and has referred to his Memoirs. While stating the five routes leading from India to Kabul, Abul Faḍl remarks that Firdaus Makāni had not written on these specific routes. It is clear from this remark that Abul Faḍl does not avoid telling us that he had kept the Memoirs of Bābur before him while relating the account of Kabul. Though Abul Faḍl's account of Kabul is brief yet he has added some important details which had not been mentioned by Bābur.

Āin and Indica compared.

While annotating the following passage of the Āin-i-Akbari, part I, p.184:-

تاریخ روزی معین است که زمان پسین را بدو نسبت دهند و سرآغاز بدو قرار گیرد و آنرا روزی
برگزینند که بسترگ سانحه روشناس باشد چون کیش پیدائی و اورنگ نشینی و جوشش طوفانی و زمین لرزه

"Era is commonly understood to be the definite day to which subsequent time is referred and which constitutes an epoch. On this account they chose a day distinguished by some remarkable event such as the birth of a sect, a royal accession, a flood or an earthquake".

Mr. Jarret attributes plagiarism of Abul Faḍl on the basis of the following passage of Albiruni's Āthārul Bāqiyah ʿanil qurūnil Khāliyah, p.3:-

والتاریخ معلومة تعد من لدن اول سنة ماضية كان فيها مبعث نبي بآيات وبرهان او قيام ملك مسلط
عظيم الشأن او هلاك امة بطوفان عام مخرب او زلزلة او خسف مبيد او وباء مهلك او قحط مستأصل

او انتقال ملة او تبدل ملك او حادثة عظيمة من الآيات السماوية او العلامات المشهورة الارضية التي لا تحدث الا في دهور متطاولة وازمنة متراخية تعرف بها الاوقات المحدودة ـ

"Era means a definite space of the time, reckoned from the beginning of some past year, in which either a prophet, with signs and wonders and with a proof of his divine mission, was sent, or a great and powerful king rose, or in which a nation perished by a universal destructive deluge, or by a violent earthquake and sinking of the earth or a sweeping pestilence, or by intense drought or in which a change of dynasty or religion took place, or any great event of the celestial and the famous tellurian miraculous occurrences, which do not happen but at long interval and at times far distant from each other. By such events the fixed moments of times (epochs) are recognized". (Sachau's translation)

Both the passages are before us. It is obvious that the statement of Abul Fadl does not correspond with that of Albiruni. Even the manner of description does not coincide with that of Albīrūni. Abul Faḍl has stated a fact which every student of chronology must know and state, i.e. how the various chronological eras commenced. Abul Faḍl has stated four events only briefly, while Albīrūni enumerated eleven events. Abul Fadl could state the remaining seven if he wished so to create the impression of his great erudition. This is, obviously, no case of plagiarism.

Edward Sachau who edited and translated Albīrūni's India and Āthārul Bāqiya, in his introduction to the

Indica says that among others Gardēzī,(1) Ibn-i-ʻUqail,(2) and Rashīduddīn Fadlullāh (3) also borrowed or copied from Albīrūni's books. If Abul Fadl had committed the same crime we think it would not have escaped his studious eyes. He remarks that Albiruni never had a successor before the days of Emperor Akbar(4) obviously refers to Abul Fadl who could be regarded as having produced a work on India, which deserved merit next to Albiruni.

The Āīn-i-Akbari was first published by Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān in 1855 A.D. with explanatory notes. Again, it was publishes in Bibliotheca Indica series at Calcutta from 1867 to 1877, edited by H.Blochmann. Munshi Nawal Kishore has also published two editions so far. The first was a copy of Sir Sayyid's edition and was published in 1869 on the recommendation of Raja Mohindar Singh, the ruler of Patiāla State. The second edition was published in 1887 from Blochmann's edition. The Ain was first translated by Francis Gladwin and published at Calcutta in 1783-86 and in London in 1800. It was again published at Calcutta in 1898 (vol. I and II only) as edited by Jagdīsh Muklopadh-yaya. The second translation was published in Bibliotheca Indica series from 1868 to 1894 in three volumes. The first volume was translated by H.Blochmann and the second and

1. Gardizi. Abu Saeed ʻAbdul Hayy b. Al Daḥḥāq b. Mahmud. born at Gardizi, situated on the road to India at a place, one day's journey from Ghazna. He is the author of Zainul Akhbār, a history of Persia from the prophet upto 423 A.H.(1032 A.D.) It contains a chapter on India. It was compiled in the reign of Abdur Rashid Ghaznavi (1049-1053 A.D.)
2. Ibn-i-ʻUqail. He is Abul Maʻāli Muhammad Ibn-i-ʻUqail, author of the Kitab-i-Bayānul Adyān in Persian, written during the reign of Masʻūd bin Ibrāhim (1089-1099 A.D.)
3. Rashīduddīn Fadlullah. Born at Hamadān about 1247 A.D. He was a physician of high standing. Served the Moghal rulers Abāga Khan (1265-1282), Ghāzan Khan(1295-1304) and Uljaitu(1304-1316) as a physician, Ṣadr and Court Historian. He was executed on the false charge of poisoning Uljaitu in 1318 A.D. He was the author of famous Jāmiʻut tawarikh, a general and Moghal History, Kitābul Aḥyāʼul Akhbār and others.
4. Preface, p.XLIII.

third by H.S.Jarret, with explanator[y]
notes.

Style. As regards the style of th[e] conspicuous change from the preva[l]... writing. Lengthy and complex sent... in its diction. There is a marked intention ... writer to avoid the use of Arabic words and constructions. Abul Fadl was appearantly influenced by the Persianising practices in the Court. By the introduction of the Dīn-i-Ilāhi, Arabic was ignored. Akbar, himself, did not like the circumlocuted ornate style of the histories like the _Tārīkh-i-Waṣṣāf_, _Sharafnāma-i-Yazdi_ and the books like the _Akhlaq-i-Jalali_, _Anwar-i-Suhaili_ and _Tūti Nāmeh_ by Nakhshabi. That was the reason why he asked Abul Fadl to rewrite the _Anwār-i-Suhaili_ and the _Tūtināmeh_ in simple Persian prose. The translations of _the Bible_ and _the Gita_ done by Abul Fadl were also steps to support and popularise this simple and direct style which, finally assumed the strong and even diction employed in the _Āīn-i-Akbari_. The revival of Iranian culture, and religion (Zaroastrinism) in the Court also helped to revive the Iranian language. There can be other reason for so choosing the language of the _Āīn-i-Akbari_ as to be devoid of Arabic bombast. It might have been the aim to bring Hindu theology and faith nearer to the mind of the Muslims and also to ease the prejudice of the Hindus against Persian language which was overflowing with Arabic, the language of the Qur'an. It would have also been considered helpful for the Hindus to learn simple Persian because it had been adopted as an official language and the Hindu employees of the Revenue office had to learn it.

The _Āīn-i-Akbari_ is a unique experiment in the history of Persian prose. The simple, direct and clear style was not favoured by the scholars accustomed

to the ornate writing. Therefore, the histories written in the following centuries such a Bādshāh Nāmeh by Abdul Hamid Lahori, Waqāi' Ni'mat Khān 'Āli etc. followed the conventional method of writing. Abul Fadl was a pioneer and ahead of him by two centuries. He attempted to write in pure Persian. This purification movement was taken up later in the first quarter of twentieth century of Christian era in Iran through the initiative and encouragement of Riḍā Shāh Pahlavi (1926-1941 A.D.)

In his attempt to use pure Persian words, at times Abul Fadl has used some archaic words found in the poetry of the third and fourth century of Hijri, e.g.

عقده = پیچ
مافریه - مهمان خانه = سپنج
زمین = بوم
مردم بشکوه = فرهیده

پیغمبر = وخشور
مذهب = کیش
زبان = زفان
تکاپو = تکاپو
جستجو = پژوهش
پاداش = بادافراه

Mr. Jarret remarks that the style of the Āin-i-Akbari is abrupt, close and enigmatic. Perhaps he was not acquainted with the new trends in modern prose and that is the reason why he could not appreciate the clear, pure and weighty prose of the Āin-i-Akbari. There appears to be no obscurity in it. For instance here is a short passage from the book, which may be cited as true specimen of Abul Fadl's new technique of writing. He seems to have scrupulously avoided the use of Arabic words in it with the exception of one word.

این ایزدی شگرف جانور در تنومندی و استواری کوه آسا. در دلیری و جان شکری شیر کردار. در شکوه افزائی کشور و گشائی سترگ نیرو. و در آبادی سپاه و جنگ والا دست آویز. شناسندگان
پهلوان بوم گزیده را برابر پانصد سوار برشمارند و هم عنانی دلیران تیرانداز یک تنه کار پنجهزار کند.
در تند خوئی و سبک عنانی چون تازی بارگی و در فرمان پذیری و رموزدانی لباس زیرک مردم

3. Mukātabāt-i-'Allāmī.

Volume I.

The letters and other miscellaneous writings of Abul Fadl were compiled by his sister's son, 'Abdus Samad in three volumes :-

(i) The first consists of letters addressed to the emperors or rulers of foreign countries and the nobles of the realm on behalf of Emperor Akbar.

(ii) The second volume comprises letters and petitions addressed to the Emperor, princes and high officials of the kingdom by Abul Fadl himself.

(iii) The third volume includes exordia, prefaces, reviews and notes on selections from the books, notebooks and other pieces of prose and extracted from other sources.

The date of compilation is 1015 A.H. as inferred from the chronogram [illegible] given in the preface by the editor. This book is commonly known as Insha-i-Abul Fadl and is divided into three dafters.

Contents. The first volume consists of 18 letters. The more important being those addressed to the rulers of Turān, Irān, Kāshghar, Khāndis, Ahmadnagar and Spain. All of these have been written in a very courteous and friendly tone. The writer wishes to impress upon the addressees the grandeur of his Empire, his powerful army, his magnanimity, Divine favours and supreme ascendancy of his star. He tells them that he good and humane desire is to do all he can for the welfare and benefit of the people who are the sacred trust of God. He asks them to initiate friendly relations by mutual exchange of ambassadors and presents. Those who are already in contact should further cement their good relations by entering into alliance and by expressing their sincerity and good will to one another.

The letters addressed to Khān-i-Khānān, Shāhbaz Khān Kambuh, Hakim Humām and Prince Murād are intended to pay tribute to the faithful and loyal servants,

encourage them and assure them of further Royal favours.

The letter addressed to دانایان فرنگ (the wise of Europe) was actually meant for Phillip II, the king of Spain. This fact is borne out by a manuscript of the Mukātabāt-i-ʿAllāmi in the Panjab Public Library numbered 141-Z, wherein the letter is addressed to the ruler of Europe فرمان شاهنشاهی بوالی فرنگ The heading as نشان والا به والی ولایت فرنگ also appears on the Sharh-i-Mukātabāt-i-ʿAllāmi by Malāḥat, a Ms. in Panjab University Library. ʿAbdullāh Khān and Sayyid Muẓaffar were deputed to carry this letter to the addressees. Sayyid Muẓaffar, on his way, slipped off and concealed himself in the Deccan. Father Monserrate, who also accompanied the party, and Abdullah reached Goa from where they were to proceed to Spain. The mission did not materialize. Abdullah came back to Fatḥepur Sikri without sailing for Europe and thus the letter did not reach its destination.(1)

One letter addressed to the Governors of all the conquered regions and the officers on special duty, reveals the state of internal administration by Akbar for security of life and property of the people and maintenance of peace and order in the country. This letter is in fact, a code of conduct and full time instructions for every official who had a hand in the administration of the country.

One letter addressed to ʿAbdullāh Khān Uzabak, in 994 A.H. (1585-A.D.), has also been reproduced in the Akbarnāmah, vol.II, p.487-501. Curiously enough this is not an exact copy of either of the three letters addressed to ʿAbdullāh Khān Uzbak and published in the Mukātabāt-i-ʿAllāmi. The first paragraph beginning from استشمام گلدستهٔ بهار to بوضوح پیوست constitute the first portion of the third letter in the Mukātabāt, whereas the rest

---

1. Commentary of Father Monserrate, p.IX-XI.

of the portion of the letter in the Akbarnāmeh beginning with ایلهای کوه و وادی و سوارخ on p.498, line 11, to the end, is the same as that of the second letter addressed to ʿAbdullah Khān in the Mukātabāt, volume I, p.13, line 9 to the end. The second letter is briefer and simpler and most probably was the one despatched through Hakim Hamam. The third letter addressed to Abdullah Khan Uzbak is an amplification of the second letter also addressed to him. One paragraph beginning with بہت تشیید مبانی to مسلوک باشد in both these letters coincide with each other but the third letter is more detailed than the second. Most of the contents correspond to each other but the third letter is better worded than the second. Presumably the third letter was first drafted but due to some circumstances its despatch was delayed. The writer owing to the suggestion of some authority or due to his own dissatisfaction with the first version, rewrote the second letter. The compiler appears to have found both the copies and included them in the collection.

The letters addressed to the Emperor of Iran and the ruler of Turān are historically very important as they reveal the diplomatic relations of Akbar with these countries. In those days the religious faith of the ruler or the country, in general, was a matter of great consideration and exploitation. It influenced the mutual relations of the countries. We notice in a letter addressed to ʿAbdullāh Khān who was an orthodox Sunni Muslim, that Akbar defends his own fidelity to God and prophets and assures him of his sincerity and genuineness of conviction. He exhorts him to help the ruler of Iraq who is of the same faith as the addressee and refers to the Ṣafawis as اوباش قزلباش i.e. rascal Qizilbāsh who are Shi'as by faith and hostile to the ruler of ʿIrāq. But in a letter addressed to Shāh ʿAbbās, the Ṣafawi, the ruler of Iran, after due praise to God, encomium to t

prophet, according to the common practice, he mentions the Ahl-i-Bait i.e. the kindred of the Prophet as the exponents of Divine mysteries, to satisfy the religious sentiments of the addressee. Again, in the same letter, while invoking the Divine favours, he also seeks benediction from the souls of the innocent Imams ائمہ معصومین only to win appreciation of the king and his courtiers.

The third letter to ʿAbdullāh Khān Uzbak was written in the 30th year of his reign i.e. 1585-86. By this time Akbar's belief in Islamic faith had received a set back and he had gone too far ahead with his religious innovations and he was talked ill of in Islamic countries. Abdullah Khan had also doubts about his true faith in Islam and sought clarification in his letter. Akbar, in reply assures him of his true faith and refers his own crusadic deeds and states, "The temples of the infidel Hindus have been turned into the dwelling places of God-fearing Dervishes and in place of the Gong of Idol worshippers, the Call for prayers is heard of". This reference is factually incorrect. He had followed the policy of toleration towards Hindus far before this date. He exempted Hindus from pilgrim tax and poll tax and won their sympathy and favour. He married a Rajput princess in 1562 A.D. and allowed her to worship in her own way in his palace. Reference to such facts were merely religious stunts to pacify the hostile opinion of the foreign rulers. In letters of such themes Akbar and Abul Fadl, the writer speak as diplomats of high order. The letters are very strongly worded to inspire awe in the readers and listeners. In high sounding epithets, we feel as if threats have been cloaked to over awe them by psycholocal suggestions.

In all of these official letters, though the authority of the "illiterate" Akbar had its powerful

stamp yet the brain behind his authorit
Abul Faḍl's. To a man who understands
words it would not sound hyperbolic to
ruled through the strong pen of Abul Faḍl.

On perusal of these letters one is very reasonably and justifiably impressed by the efficiency of Abul Fadl as a secretary to the Emperor. His pen and the mind of Akbar appear to be in unison. Abul Faḍl is the authorotative spokesman of the Empire.

Style. Abul Faḍl's style of writing these official letters has met with unanimous appreciation by the oriental writers. For instance the author of the Ma'āthirul'Umarā says, "The Shaikh had an enchanting literary style. He was free from secreterial pomposity and epistolatory biographical tricks of style."(1) But to an English scholar, in general, "each letter must be regarded as a riddle, couched in veiled language."(2) Mr. Jarret says, "These epistles which form one of his monuments to fame, consist of interminable sentences involved in frequent parenthesis difficult to unravel".(3) Mr. Phillot has even mentioned a Persian gentlemen, manager and editor of a well known Persian newspaper, as a corroborator, "who declared his inability to fathom the meaning of even two consequent lines". We think the Persian gentleman must have been ignorant of Arabic language and Persian classical literature. The letters have been written by a great scholar of extensive learning and therefore in order to understand his language and the contents of his writings, an extensive knowledge of the language, intelligence and oriental scholarship is required; a mediocre, therefore, cannot fully appreciate Abul Fadl, quite in the same way as a man of common ability and

1. Ma'āthirul'Umarā, vol.II, p.622.
2. Translation of a letter by D.C.Phillot.
3. Introduction to the Tn. of the Ain, vol.II.

having an ordinary knowledge of English language cannot understand Shakespeare, Milton and Browning. Herbert Spencer says, "The question may sometimes be decided by considering the capability of the persons addressed. A greater grasp of mind is required for the ready comprehension of thoughts". (1)

His mind was clear and he communicated his ideas so effectively that the addresses were very much impressed. If his letters addressed to Abdullah Khan Uzbuk had been obscure, involved, peurile, he could not have said, "I am more afraid of Abul Faḍl's pen than of Akbar's arrow". (2)

To judge the merits of these letters it is almost necessary to keep in view the following points :-

1. The letters were written on behalf of the Emperor and addressed to the Emperors or Rulers of mediaeval ages.
2. The age was of formalities.
3. The person of the king was held in great veneration and people even prostrated before him.
4. In diplomatic communications the formal manners of address were maintained.
5. It would have been an insult to the great monarch to acknowledge his letter simply in such words "your letter received".

Keeping in view the above facts we think Abul Fadl was discrete and judicious when he expressed the ideas in formal terms.

In the letters addressed to the Emperor of Iran and the ruler of Turan, Abul Faḍl is too formal and he uses lengthy complex sentences but he is never confused

---

1. Philosophy of style, p.19.
2. Blochman, preface to Ain, p.5.

as if he knows that longer sentences give an air of solemnity and deliberation to writing. When he states facts he becomes simpler and clearer. In a letter addressed to Abdullah Khan Uzbuk, which begins with استشام گلدستۂ بہار his version is complicated in the introductory paragraph but in the midst of the letter he is quite simple. In the letters addressed to the rulers of small states like Kāshghar, Khandis and Ahmadnagar there is only occasional observance of formality and the sentences are short.

Abul Fadl expresses ideas in a forceful diction. The selection of his words and compounds is very suitable and appropriate to the occasion. The synonyms are not flat and boring but are suggestive. At times the sentences rhyme with each other and the words are so placed that they do not effect harmony. The phraseology reveals Abul Fadl's complete mastery over the language. His style is ornate but the similies and metaphors are illustrative and not mere embellishments.

Among the orientalists who studied Abul Fadl, Mr. H.Blochmann has been able to appreciate his technique of writing in true perspective. He says, "His letters are perfect models. His composition stands unique and though everywhere studied he cannot be, and has not been imitated. " (1)

Volume II.

The second volume consists of 100 letters in all. The prominent amongst them are as follows :-

To whom addressed.	Number of letters.
Akbar.	2
Dāniyāl	2
Khān Khānān.	37
A'zam Khān Kuka.	2
Shaikh Mubārak	2
Feidi	5
Rāji 'Alī Khān	2
Mīr Sharīf Āmuli	7

1. Preface to Ain.

Some of these letters have been written in his official capacity as a minister or chief secretary to Akbar or as incharge of the Deccan affairs. The tone of these letters is friendly but respectful. Thirty seven of these letters have been written to Abdur Raḥīm Khān Khānān. The contents and the introductory epithets reveal that Abul Faḍl held him very dear on account of his loving personality and high intellectual gifts. Even, in a letter which bespeaks his discord and difference with him about some affairs, he has not lost his balance of mind but is bold to suggest the way out of the difficulty. He offers documentry proof in his own defence and reminds him of his past friendship. The letters to Khān Khānān display Abul Faḍl's mastery of language and command over the technique of letter-writing. Each letter begins with a new phraseology and fresh verses. A long letter to Khan Khanan comprising 17 pages, is a comprehensive treatise on theoretical and practical ethics. It speaks of Abul Faḍl's thorough conception of social structure of mankind and soundness of his advice in intricate problems of life. Another letter addressed to Mīr Sharīf Sarmadi, also of good length, deals in social and state ethics. Undoubtedly his outlook on ethics is Eastern though it was originally based on Aristotelian Ethics. He often recommends the study of the Akhlāq-i-Jalāli, the Akhlāq-i-Nāṣiri and second half of the Kimiyā-i-Sa'adat of Ghazāli to prince Dāniyāl, Khan Khānān and other friends.

This set of letters impresses upon the reader the nobility of Abul Faḍl's character, his high moral values and sincerity of his heart. He is always conscientious in the performance of his duties. In almost all letters he advised others to realize their sense of duty to do good to the general public and

have tolerance for other people's v
tired of impressing upon others his
indebtedness to the Emperor and rem
faithfulness they owe to the Lord a

Some letters, especially written during his charge of the Deccan affairs notably addressed to Akbar, Prince Dāniyāl, Khān Khānān, Sher Khwāja, Ruler of Golcunda Ṣādiq Khān and others are historically very important, being an unofficial and true record of the actual state of affairs in those hard days for Abul Fadl.

Sufic element prevails in all of his letters written to friends. He advises them to always take care of inner self. He refers them to the importance of future life. He exhorts them not to hanker after wordly luxuries. His own humility, contentment and self sacrifice are derived from this attitude. He recommends them to study the Ḥadīqa-i-Sanā'ī and the Mathnavi of Rūmi and often quotes verses from them.

Style. ✓ In this collection of letters we see Abul Fadl was a letter writer of high merit. Those who condemn his style as very difficult and obscure, have not carefully studied these letters. These letters are nowhere turgid, bombastic or prolix as Col.Phillot would like us to believe. Even in his letters to the Emperor and the Princes, he is simple, clear and direct. There we find no circumlocution, or lengthy and complex sentences which we come across in the letters addressed to foreign rulers, in the first volume. The difficulty in understanding the contents of certain letters, is experienced at places where we are not acquainted with the antecedents of the persons who are either addressees or whose mention has been made in the letters. Sometimes the etiquette of mentioning the addressee and the writer in the third person in the same letter adds some

difficulty to the meaning of some sentences for those who are not acquainted with this technique.

The emotive quality of his style is shown by his forcefulness and sincerity. A spirit of sympathy, affection and humour pulsates in all his letters addressed to Khān Khānān. The use of appropriate verses in the letters has made the reading interesting and pleasant.

The imaginative qualities of his style are concreteness and suggestiveness. The words and epithets used by him are pregnant with thoughts. He knows the individuality of every word. There is little indiscriminate use of synonyms as was common to other writers in that age.

The aesthetic appeal of his style is revealed when he employs melody to make his sentences flow and produce sweet sound. The melody is the result of the repetition of vowels or consonants in one sentence. For instance the following sentences are the specimens of the use of melody:-

اثباتاً و نفیاً وجوداً و عدماً چه می‌گوید ص 96

سبحان الله و در معنیشا. و اخوشا. زیاده چه نویسد

احساسک مسالک دقیقت از یکرویی ها و نادرستی های این نفس چه نویسد

کشان کشان بعالم بیان می‌آورد ص 96

The use of rhyming words and epithets is common in these letters. The placing of such words produces musical tone, For instance mark the following combination of words :-

جلالت روحانی و طهارت معنوی ص 135

عتاب و خطاب و مباسطت و ملاعبت در نزهتگاه. طبیعت ص 135

طراوت بخش دل پژمرده و نضارت ده خاطر افسرده ص 135

Volume III.

The third volume consists of introductions or conclusions on books written by him or compiled by him. The rest are miscellaneous pieces of prose, his observations and his reviews on the writings of others.

The philosopher and the Ṣūfi in Abul Fadl is preponderant in this third volume of his Mukātabāt. He ponders, muses and contemplates on the situation in which he was placed at the time of writing. He passes a sarcastic remark on the conduct of others and at once his conscience pricks him and he begins to condemn his own selfish motives and faults. (1) This recurring introspection is a self-inquisition on one's own ideas, which is only possible by a saint of high moral integrity. This quality of his mind raises him to the level of a great mystic.

His personality.

// Abul Fadl accuses people of cunning and deceit, greed and jealousy. This gives us an insight into his personality. It is easy for an indivual to project a vice that he himself possesses, on to another person and censure it in the latter. This is what Abul Fadl does and he is conscious of that. (2) He is inwardly aware of his own short-comings and vices of which he accuses others. However, he honestly confesses such vices and thus leads to self pity, self-accusation and self-punishment. His polite and clean exterior hides an impeachable interior. While such a morbid tendency to self-accusation may be regarded as a sort of defence mechanism, it was also an honest and sincere effort on his part to reform himself and rise to higher level of personal and social morality. His sufi'ism may be cited as evidence of this fact. A ṣūfi may depart

1. Mukātabāt, p.246-47.

2. Ibid, p.227-28.

from the conventional and prescribed ritual in matters of prayers etc., nevertheless he, in his own way, is keen on self improvement through self-examination. He turns his gaze inward from time to time and takes stock of his innermost being. Thus we find both these strains, namely, defence mechanism and real moral earnestness, in his personality. Of these two strains, the second is uppermost in him.

Abul Fadl is very sensitive of his own reactions, and emotional enough to enlarge his sensibility "to magnify and exploit it in the interests of self-projection, self-expression and self creation". (1).

Sufic tendencies.

He made mysticism or sufi'ism his special subject of study. Besides the sufi poets he studied various schools of sufistic thought. He mentions آداب المریدین and its commentary, letters by Sharfuddin Munyari and Tabaqāt-i-Sufiya by Abdur Rahman Sulami, of which he made selections and wrote his observations on them. He had spiritual experiences himself and had deep regard for genuine darvishes. In his writings he clamours for union with God. Right from 990 A.H. to 1006 A.H., the period approximately covered by this volume, we find him praying God to relieve him from the clutches of his deceptive self. He wants to be free from selfish motives, foolish desires of wealth, envy and hatred. He prays God to grant him absolute peace and conciliation with mankind, thence to transverse further stages of spiritual development from absolute love, absolute resignation, total annihilationof self to the final stage of absolute union with the Almighty.

Studious habits.

Abul Fadl was a very studious person. In spite of his busy life at Court amidst multifarious duties he

---

1. Read, Herbert, English prose style, p.177.

used to collect verses and extract important quotations from great authors. Thus we see he had prepared several note books (بیاض) on which he had written introductory passages or conclusions.

He had compiled a book called Kajkol in which he had preserved the words which the great sufis spoke in a state of ecstacy. He mentions another Kajkol to which he has written an introduction(p.263-279), which was the result of his prolonged study of intellectual, traditional and occult sciences and other miscellaneous literature. This note book must have been a compedium of information and complete mirror of the compiler's mind indicating in addition the range and extent of his knowledge. The Kajlol was divided into five sections.

1. Intellectual.
2. Intuitive or revealed.
3. Traditional.
4. Poetrical.
5. Miscellaneous.

Muhammad Husain Azad saw this book in original, in the handwriting of Abul Fadl himself. (1)

Abul Faḍl compiled another treatise called Bayād-i-Mu'āmalāt, to which had written a preface. He states that he laid down broad principles governing business transactions between the parties. This must have been a code of laws to control the marketing in the country. He further says that in presenting this document he would be doing a great service to his leader, the Emperor, and this would prove a stunning reply to those envious persons who talked evil of him, as one who had been raised from a humble origin of a student

1. Nigāristān-i-Fārs, p.122.

and an ordinary soldier to a distinguished courtier.

His critical perception. Abul Fadl had made a special stúdy of mystic poets in general. His favourite poets were those who suffered in life and realized the triviality of worldly riches and waste of their energies in pursuit of false and unreal desires. They were Khāqānī, Anwari, Kamāl Ismā'īl, Sanā'ī, Rūmi and Ẓahīr Fāryābi. All of them except Rumi were court poets in first phase of their life. The realisation came afterwards when they felt disappointment in their careers. Abul Faḍl selected their verses which had some depth of vision, a meaning, a lesson or an experience of life. He wished to derive inspiration from their poetry and better his own life. While comparing Khaqani and Sanai, he remarks that he had gathered ideas from both of them which were pleasing to the mind but the verses extracted from the Hadiqa of Sanai have moved his soul to indescribable ecstacy.

✓ He had a good sense of appreciation for poetry. His remarks are very comprehensive. At times a phrase or so furnish a complete picture of the poet. For instance دلنشین پذیر کلمات قدسیه for Khaqani, نگارخانهٔ معنی و نقش آرای صورت for Divan-i-Anwari ابوالبدیع and بهابنده for Anwari am خزینهٔ گوهر گرانمایه for Sanai are most appropriate epithets, which describe the men and their poetry.

Artistic Tastes. ✓ Abul Faḍl's introduction to the Muraqqa-'i-Bādshāhi i.e. Royal album, reveals his fine taste for calligraphy. The album was a unique collection of the finest specimens of calligraphy which could be collected through royal resources. The initiator was Prince Salim son of Empror Akbar. Abul Faḍl gives the definition of each script, its brief history and development in Eastern countries especially in Islamic regions. He has traced the origin, formation of alphabet and its use in various stages of development. He further mentions the greatest calligraphists and inventors of new styles of script. He has also stated the names of the

prominent calligraphists who enjoyed royal patronage.

✓ He was an accomplished connoisseur of art. He has shown a keen eye to appreciate the beauty of lines, proportion, balance and harmony of letters in calligraphy as displayed by him in his introduction. His sense of poetic appreciation is definitely superb as it appears from the various verses interspersed in his writing. About music, he says, "It produces pleasure as well as sorrow but natural impression is that it produces sorrow otherwise the urge itself creates it in the listeners. As soon as the musician plays a tune at night all the bygone memories rush in". He has boldly criticised the moral and religious conditions of the people in the Khātimā of the second volume of the Akbarnāmeh. He displayed keenness for the search of knowledge and mental unrest for the realization of truth but the bookish knowledge of scholastic teachers and uninspiring behaviour of spiritual leaders did not satiate his thirst.[2]

A considerable portion of this volume consists of lengthy Khātimās (conclusions) on the first, second and third volumes of the Akbarnāmeh. The last epilogue contains auto-biographical sketch including details of his ancestors. This biographical account has been added to the end of third part of the Āīn-i-Akbari. On the testimony of this collection it appears that this account has actually been part of the third volume of the Akbarnāmeh and not of the Āīn-i-Akbari. The introduction to the Markiz-i-Adwār of Faiḍi, is informative and throws light on the fact that Emperor Akbar desired Faiḍi to write five mathnavis after the famous khamsa of Nizami.

Style. In this collection of miscellaneous pieces of prose the mode of his expression changes with the change of the subject. Most of these notes are observations

on certain authors about whom he mused, pondered over and contemplated. Naturally the expression of his thoughts became poetical and metaphorical. He searched for words to express his deep feelings and in order to be precise and concrete he coined words and phrases of his own. He often employed technical terms of sufism and philosophy and thus the language became difficult but without confusing and contemplating. Sincerity, vigour and force of expression prevail throughout. His newly coined phraseology is very much suggestive and thought-provoking. For instance note the following phrases :-

ابوالرحی - ابن الدنیا - نگارخانهٔ معنی - غنوده بختان - عبدالدیناری - عبدالطبعی

تحسین پذیر و تحسین گر - بجا بنده - ابوالاجواد عبارت - پردگیانِ آسمانی

When he writes in praise of the Emperor, the princes or his beloved persons, he becomes poetical and ornate; and rhymed prose is the result. His choice of words and phrases is excellent. To use so many words in succession and also to maintain the rythm, requires mastery of language balance and sense of proportion. Abul Fadl is a master craftsman in the use of words. See the following phrases in the praise of Prince Salim :-

غرّهٔ ناصیهٔ سعادت و اقبال - قرّهٔ باصرهٔ عظمت و جلال

درّة التاج سلطنت کبری - خلف الصدق خلافت عظمی

فروغ دودمانِ اجلال - نوپرورد نیّر افضال

4. <u>Ruq'āt-i-Abul Fadl.</u>

This collection consists of 52 letters in all. Forty of them have been addressed to the members of his own family, friends, saints and the learned men of the day. The contents of these letters reveal Abul Fadl's humbleness and great veneration for these men of spiritual enlightenment. He begs them to pray to

God for his salvation and for the forgiveness of his sins. He assures them that, notwithstanding his elevation to rank and increase in material wealth, he is alive to his duty towards them. He was faithful and helpful to their cause and many a time he used his influence to secure for them the award of land and stipends for their livelihood.

This collection reveals Abul Faḍl in true colours. Here we see his real nature, his philanthropic spirit, live, and let-live technique, forget and forgive conduct of live. If any of his acquaintance incurred displeasure it caused him pain and he never lost time to beg forgiveness even from men younger in age and lower in rank e.g., "Urfi and Husain Thanēi."

The letters have not been arranged in any planned sequence. Only four letters are dated; the latest date being 1004 A.H. At the end of a very few, the place of writing is mentioned. It is a great handicap to determine the evolution of the author's views or collect biographical data owing to the absence of the dates on which the letters were issued.

The contents of the following letters reveal that these were written during Abul Fadl's stay in the Deccan :-

1. Letter to Shukrun Nisā, daughter of Akbar.
2. To the mother of Prince Dāniyāl.
3. To the mother of Akbar.
4. To Prince Salīm.
5. To Prince Murād.
6. To Prince Dāniyāl.
7. To Akbar.

These letters are very important for they shed sufficient light on the inner state of the Deccan affairs. Abul Faḍl explains his own critical plight amongst the disunited commanders of the troops. He complains against the clique at Court who conspired to send him away, aiming, in case of his failure, to

degrade him, in the eyes of the Emperor. By referring to previous record of service and his rise from poverty to power, beseeches the influential female members of the royal family, to recommend his recall to the Emperor. In these letters he is hostile towards Abdur Rahim Khān Khānān and he has used abusive language for him and has tried to damn him as an arch-enemy of the Timurid Dynasty like his father Bairam Khan. For instance in his letter to Akbar, he writes :-

از فریب و مکرهای عبدالرحیم بیرم بچه بیدولت ذلیل - اگر تمام عمر از دو فنون او تسویه قایم عشر عشیر آن
نتوانسته باشم در عالم چاپلوسی دروغ و فریب هیچ ابلیسی یگانه آفاق و بی بدل است - این چه غداری و مکاری
که ایزد تعالی بیوه کرامت کرده است لیکن درین وقت پارهٔ دل ال ایستد که ظاهرا در مشیت حق تعالی مستوی
شده و خلاصی رفته که با وجود آن نادره روزگار و بوالعجب اعصار که مستحق شیطنت سزاوار لعنت بود
غرایل به چاره را که عقل دبستان این توانه بود بلطوف برگزید. ص ۴۶

Though information contained in these letters is correct and valuable yet on close examination of these letters I have come to the conclusion that they have not been written by Abul Faḍl. My reasons for their being fictitious are as under :-

The common subject of the undermentioned letters is the poisonous propaganda against Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan:-

1. To Shukrun Nisā Begum.
2. To mother of Dāniyāl.
3. To Prince Salīm.
4. To mother of Akbar.
5. To Akbar.
6. To Prince Dāniyāl.

To any serious student of Abul Faḍl it strikes at once that it does not behove a man of Abul Fadl's calibre to use such a defamatory language about a man like Abdur Rahīm who is considered in history to be as a thorough gentleman, an accomplished scholar, a philanthropist and a brave soldier. In all of the thirty seven letters addressed to him in the

Mukātabāt-i-'Allāmi, vol.II, excepting one, Abul Fadl is full of affection and respect for his noble friend. In a letter he wrote to him, "My disposition is perfectly in accord with that of yours".(1)

Muhammad Husain Āzād, the author of the Darbār-i-Akbari, did not doubt the authenticity of of these letters, he, therefore, attributed this disparity to the mutual rivalry of these two gentlemen in the command of the Deccan forces. He states that Abul Faḍl wanted to have the credit for victory to his own name and thus the clash occurred in their interests.(2) But his conjecture was incorrect. The facts are that the Khān Khānān was the commander of troops in the Deccan under Sultān Murād, the son of Akbar. He was called back by Akbar owing to his disagreement with the Prince. On 25th December, 1598, Abul Fadl was despatched to take charge of the Deccan affairs in place of 'Abdur Rahīm. He was at Burhānpur on 21st April, 1599. On the death of Prince Murād, 'Abdur Rahīm was again ordered to proceed to the Deccan on 30th October, 1599, in the company of Sultan Dāniyāl, the second son of Akbar. He took charge from Abul Faḍl in February, 1600 A.D. Abul Faḍl rejoined Akbar at Koregaon on 20th March, 1600. Henceforth Abul Faḍl was busy in the conquest of Asirgarh and Khān Khānān busied himself with the conquest of Ahmadnagar. Thus it is evident so far that there was no clash between them for name or reputation. The fields of their exploits were apart from each other. After the conquest of Asirgarh in January, 1601, Abul Fadl was despatched to curb the disturbances caused by Rājū. But after a short while he was called back and asked, in company with Khan Khanan to overpower Shāh 'Ali's son. He met Khān Khānān

1. Mukātabāt-i-'Allāmi, vol.II, p.141.
2. Darbār-i-Akbari, p.482.

in Varangaon in February, 1601. Soon after Khān Khānān set himself to bring under control Venko Boomi and asked Abul Fadl to move towards Shah Ali's son. Again, on 3rd October, 1601 Abul Faḍl came to help Khan Khanan against Amber on his request. This is the latest date under which Abul Fadl had mentioned his relation with Khan Khanan, in the Akbarnāmah. It is quite evident from the above details that they were on goodterms with each other upto this date.

There appears to have been some misunderstanding between them but this could not have led Abul Fadl to such a bitter end. In his letter to Khān Khānān he wrote, "I had written to you about my displeasure. If the arrival of the prince (Dāniyāl) is delayed, please come quickly so that I may hand over the army and the treasure and explain to you the matters worth noticing and the things not to be talked off".(1) This letter was written in the beginning of 1600 A.D. at the time Abul Faḍl was leaving the Deccan to join Akbar at Burhānpur and was asking the Prince and Khān Khānān to come post haste and take over the charge from him.

This derogatory propaganda against Abdur Rahim Khān Khānān repeatedly found in all of these letters, is sufficient to prove them spurious but there are a number of historical descrepencies, chronological mistakes and errors in the language, which put a stamp of fictitiousness on them. We will examine these letters one by one.

Letter to Akbar.

(i) In a letter addressed to Emperor Akbar, the writer appreciates the services rendered by Rājā Mān Singh in the Deccan and recommends for the elevation of his rank and award of Jāgir to him. He even mentions particular strategic position (thāna) where Rājā Mān Singh, in spite of blockade of supplies, stood firm

1. Mukatabat, p.153.

on his position and saved the situation. But with all these details in hand the fact cannot be denied that Rājā Mān Singh was never posted to the Deccan and served under Abul Faḍl. The Akbarnāmah and other histories are silent on it. The Rājā, throughout these years (1007-1010 A.H.) i.e. during the stay of Abul Faḍl in the Deccan, was at Ajmer or in Bengal. Rājā Mān Singh already held the rank of 5000 and he could, in no case be sent to serve under a man lower in rank and status.

(ii) This letter must have been written between April, 1599 and February, 1600 A.D. i.e. the first period of Abul Faḍl's stay in the Deccan. The writer himself refers to his presence in that country for the last six months.(1) This was also the time when Aḥmadnagar had not been conquered as the writer desired to conquer it, by his own efforts.(2) During this period ʿAbdur Raḥīm Khān Khānān was away from the Deccan and ʿAbul Faḍl was solely incharge of the campaign. But in the same letter the Khān Khānān is referred to as present in the Deccan, siding with the enemy and obstructing the smooth success of the expedition. The writer requests the Emperor to dismiss him or to instruct him not to take any step without the consultation of the former.(3) This is altogether contrary to the facts and a person other than Abul Faḍl alone could write this letter full of incorrect details.

(iii) In this letter the writer praises his own efforts and service rendered in reforming and improving the habits of the Prince who could be no other than Prince Dāniyāl because Prince Murād died a day after Abul Faḍl's arrival in the Deccan. He could not use his advice and persuasion with Prince Dāniyāl who was in fact not present during this period of his stay in

1. Ruqaʿāt, p.46
2. Ibid, p.40.
3. Ibid, p.43 (1270 Edn.)

the Deccan. The Prince came late in February, 1600 along with 'Abdur Rahīm Khān Khānān to take over from Abul Faḍl. This wrong reference also brings out fictitiousness of the letter.

(iv) It is stated that Amber, with a contingent of ten thousand horsemen attacked Bir and surrounded Sher Khwāja. The latter with a limited number of men came out of the fort, fought and inflicting a defeat on him, snatched away his flag and drums. This statement lacks historical corroboration. If such a victory had been scored by Sher Khwāja against such heavy odds Abul Faḍl would have mentioned it in the Akbarnāmeh. Of course, there was a tough fight between the Deccanis and Sher Khwāja in August, 1599, as reported by Abul Faḍl in the Akbarnameh. He recorded, "Twenty thousand Deccanis and Abbysinians with 60 elephants gathered and waited for an opportune moment in the season of monsoon rains. They attacked Bīr, which was held by Sher Khwāja. Though he bravely fought the enemy yet he was wounded and he carried himself back inside the city walls."(1) "The enemy laid a siege for 19 days until the reinforcements sent by Abul Fadl rescued them and drove the enemy away". This is quite a different story from the one given in this letter. There is no mention of Amber in Akbarnāmeh's version. At this time Amber had not attained an independent position as to have gathered ten thousand horsemen around him. This fact is testified to by Fuzūni Asterābādi, the author of the Futūhāt-i-'Ādil Shāhī. "When the Mughal army triumphed over the ingdom of Khāndīsh, Berār and Daulātābād", says he, "Amber entered the service of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh (1579-1626 A.D.) and for some time held a position under him, which was not even the rank

1. A.N. vol.III, p.759.

of a favoured slave. As the disruption of the Nizām Shāhi state daily increased, Abhang Khān Habshi (1) turning hostile to Bahādur Nizām Shāh, the middle grand son of Burhān Nizām Shāh, became an object of envy to other Abbysinians. Amber went to Abhang Khān, exerted himself well and rose to the rank of a commander of 150 horse. In the attack on Ahmadnagar he was a follower of Abhang Khān and fought bravely. At this time, one day with the help of the troops of the fort, he entered the walls of Ahmadnagar and seemed to be on the point of capturing it. Just then Prince Daniyal and Khān Khānān came to Ahmadnagar and laid siege to the fort."(2) This fort was conquered by Prince Dāniyāl and Khān Khānān in August, 1600 A.D.(3)

It is clear from the above statement that a reference to Amber's attack on Sher Khwāja and his defeat by the latter, is incorrect. No such battle was fought between them during the first six months of Abul Fadl's stay in the Deccan, i.e. April 1599 and October, 1599. If Sher Khwaja had won the battle against Amber there was no necessity for Abul Fadl to describe his defeat in the Akbarnāmeh and mention his victory in his private letter. The truth is that this letter has not been written by Abul Fadl.

(v) The writer recommends the award of a Jāgīr to one Wezir Khān Jamīl who had been faithfully serving in the Deccan for the last two years. He further points out that this person has 300 to 400 horsemen under his command and has acted as a vanguard in many battles. A suspicion lurks behind this statement. Abul Fadl did mention his name in the Akbarnāmeh in connection with the Deccan campaign even, especially, during his stay

1. Abhang Khān was killed in a battle on 29th November, 1599.
2. Futuhāt-i-Ādil Shāhi, Ms. fol.267a.
3. A.N., III, p.291.

in that country. In the Akbarnameh Wazir Khān has been mentioned among those who acted against the interests of the Royal Army. In 988 A.H. (1580 A.D.) he along with Baba Qāqshāl and others disobeyed the Emperor and caused disturbances in Bengal. (1) In the same year he, with others, favoured to proclaim Mirza Hakīm, the brother of Akbar, as a King. The conspirators distributed titles among themselves in anticipation of their success. Wazīr Jamīl was awarded the title of Khān Zamān and the rank of Tuzuk Begi.(2) In 991 A.H. an attempt was made to patch up their differences with the officers of the Imperial Army but he with others again broke his promise. (3) In 992 A.H. (1583 A.D.) when Bengal was conquered for the third time he with other rebels was led in the Court and pardoned. (4) The last time his name appears among the men who were engaged in fighting against the Rānā of Ūdaipur in 993 A.H. (5) If Abul Faḍl is the author of this letter one is unable to account for this contradiction in his statement. He could not praise a man as very faithful at the same time when he had a stigma of infidelity on his forehead.

(vi) The writer of this letter assumes a tone which could be interpreted as insolent towards the Emperor. For example he reproaches Akbar in these words :-

(Oh, Lord of the servant the affairs of the state do not run in this way)

صاحب بنده بدین وتیره کار نمی چلد

or

(carelessness won't help any way).

از بی پروائی کار نمی چلد

---

1. A.N., III, p.771.
2. Ibid, p.304.
3. Ibid, p.401.
4. Ibid, p.431-32.
5. Ibid, p.468.

Akbar, a brave soldier and a great administrator, himself hurried to Burhanpur to lead the Deccan Expedition. Abul Fadl, his most obedient servant could not dare to blame him for carelessness.

<u>Letter to Prince Dāniyāl.</u>

3. (i) The eleven page long letter addressed to Prince Dāniyāl contains many chronological errors which supply internal evidence of its fictitiousness. This letter is dated the 19th of the month of Shahrivar, 42nd year of Elāhi Era (1st September, 1597 A.D.) and was penned down at Agra. But it is noted that Abul Fadl was with Akbar in Kashmir in those days. (1)

(ii) The writer gives instructions to the Prince about the etiquette of drinking and voices a warning against the drunkardness and refers to the pitiable death of Prince Murād on this account. This is a clear anachronism. Prince Murād was alive in 1597, the date of the letter. He died in the 44th year of Elahi Era, that is, in 1599 A.D.(2).

(iii) In this letter the writer lays down the daily programme for the Prince. He mentions the various dishes to be laid on the table. He advises him to take wine in the company of four men only and corroborates this advice with the fact that His Holiness the Prophet selected four companions and the human body is composed of four elements. He further instructs him that a cup-bearer or a wine server should be a "moon-faced, sun-countenanced, curly and scented haired, deer-eyed, graceful in gate as a partridge and tulip-cheeked, silver-legged, cypress statured and a pleasant talker". I think the writer of this advice cannot be Abul Fadl who could be so indiscrete as to give such instructions to a grown up Prince like Daniyal. It is a direct insult to a Prince if he needs such dictates in the etiquette of dining and drinking.

---

1. A.N., vol. III, events under the year 42nd of Elāhi Era.
2. A.N. III, p.753

(iv) It is stated that the writer i.e. Abul Fadl was asked by the Emperor that either he should proceed to take charge of the Deccan affairs or he (Akbar) himself should go but if Abdul Faḍl proceeded the Prince (Dāniyāl) would obey him under all circumstances. But this statement is historically incorrect. Abul Faḍl was despatched to the Deccan in 1599 A.D. to bring back Prince Murād and take command of the army if situation permitted. He was called back and then Prince Dāniyāl and Abdur Raḥīm Khān Khānān were sent to take over from Abul Faḍl. This glaring mis-statement reveals that Abul Faḍl could not be the author of this letter.

(v) Akbar married the daughter of Abdur Raḥīm Khān Khānān to Prince Dāniyāl so that with this relation binding them together, they would be obliged to work in unison in the Deccan campaign. Abul Faḍl knew this fact. He could not have the audacity to write to the Prince to the effect that he should be on the guard against Abdur Rahim (his father-in-law), because he was an enemy of the Timurid dynasty and at present was actint as a spy to Amber. This must have been a very indiscrete and precipitate step on the part of Abul Faḍl to write to the Prince in such an ungaurded manner.

(vi)) There is another short letter addressed to Prince Dāniyāl (Mukātabāt-i-ʿAllāmi, p.82) in which the same advice is given as in this letter. Placing them side by side and comparing the style of each other, one can easily find out which is the true writing of Abul Faḍl.

مکاتبات علامی ص ۸۲	رقعات ابوالفضل ص ۳۲
در شبانه روز لختی بشنودن داستانهای هوش افزا [illegible] [illegible] کتاب بسیار و داستانها بی شمار - جهان باید شنید که بکار آید - برای عبرت [illegible] و ظفرنامه و واقعات بابری و کلیله و دمنه [illegible] خواب دانسته برای آنکه سررشته نیک و بد بدست افتد [illegible] و بیرون چهره [illegible] ناصری و جلالی [illegible] سعادت را [illegible] اندک اندک یاد گیرند و مثنوی مولوی [illegible] [illegible] در محفل [illegible] باشد -	با مردم قرب صحبت داده و خلوت گزیده چنانکه از کتابهای تواریخ و قصص مثل تیمورنامه و چنگیزنامه و بابرنامه و همایون نامه و اکبرنامه و شاهنامه و تاریخ طبری [illegible] و حبیب السیر و ظفرنامه و اخلاق ناصری و جلالی و غیره در مجلس گذرانده باشند تا معلوم شود که بزرگان را [illegible] سیر و سلوک [illegible] و [illegible] فرموده اند [illegible] دل را قوی [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] حاصل آید -

In the one, the advice appears to be sound, the opinion given about the group of books mentioned in the context, is significant while in the other merely a number of books have been mentioned without stating their merits and importance. The one point worthy of note is that, when Abul Fadl had recommended to the Prince the choicest of his books for study in one letter, there appears to be no reason to repeat his advice in another letter. The style of the letter also indicates that the letter contained in this collection is not the one written by him.

Letters to Prince Murād.

(i) The letter addressed to Prince Murād is a longer letter of 15 pages. The writer intends to impress upon the Prince the fact that he should look into the affairs of his soldiers, see that they are regularly paid and do not experience hardship at the hands of pay-masters and clerks. To support and strengthen his advice he has related the anecdotes pertaining to the apostles-cum Emperors Solomon and Joseph, Sikandar-i-Dhulqarnain, Timūr and Humāyūn, to the effect that they had large armies and considerable number of retinue, but they exercised full cares for their maintenance and did not take in a morsel of food until they were satisfied that every one of their men had taken his food. The events of Humāyūn's life had been described at length beginning from his defeat at Sher Khān's hand, his flight to Iran, reception by the Shah of Iran, his return and final victory over the Afghans. The instructions issued by the Shah to his governors and officers, for the reception and entertainment of Humāyūn had also been recorded in minute details. Many of the stories narrated in this letter are incredible fiction. It does not sound plansible that a man like Abul Fadl would write such imaginary stories to a talented and well educated man like Prince Murad. The history of Humayun does not appear to have any

feasible connection with the other subject matter of the letter. There was no occasion to re-narrate the events when Abul Fadl had already described them in the Akbarnameh, vol.I.

(ii) This letter was written to the Prince during the period he was in the Deccan i.e. 1599 A.D. (p.27) because the writer has warned the Prince that he should not take the Deccan campaign as an easy job. But at the same time he states that 50 years have elapsed since the occupation of the throne by Akbar. Akbar ascended the throne in 1556 A.D. adding to this number, the total comes to 1606, the date on which Akbar had died. This incorrect reference leads one to think that Abul Fadl could not be the man who wrote this letter.

(iii) The following inconsistencies have also been noticed in this letter :-

Abul Faḍl was bound to show respect to the mother of Akbar and he usually addressed her as Maryam Makani in his writings. In this letter she is simply called "the mother of king Akbar" (مادر اکبر بادشاہ) p.20. Moreover Abul Fadl could not dare use the name of Akbar only as he is generally spoken as حضرت شاہنشاہی ظل الٰہی in his writings.

The epithet جنت آشیانی is used for Humayun by Abul Fadl in his writings whereas in this letter he is simply referred to as king Humayun.

At one place Sher Khān, the usurper or overthrower of the Mughal throne, is mentioned as a wild natured Afghan and at another place, a prayer "may God's blessing and benediction be on him", is added to his name (p.18). This is absolutely not in tune with Abul Faḍl's remarks in the Akbarnameh.

(iv) The use of Hindustani words in Abul Faḍl's writings is very uncommon but in this letter the

following words are used without hesitation. The words are :-

P.16 تنبو (tent); مرغن (greased); نهاری (breakfast);
P.21 شامیانه‌ها (big tents); p.22 چلمچی (basin); لالچی (greedy)
P.24 کلابتون‌ها (embroidered).

(v) One can notice frequent unidiomatic use of words and phrases in this letter. Abul Fadl had attained complete mastery on the language by this time. A few examples are cited as under :-

۱. در بار عام بانشست ۲. ارایان ۳. برابر آنکه در دربار او بود
۴. استفسار او کردی ۵. پیش اندازهای قیمت بها ۶. صاحب سلامت

<u>Letter to Prince Salīm.</u> 5. In a long letter to Prince Salīm, the writer refers to the death of Maryam Makānī, the mother of Akbar and persuades him to pay a visit to his father for condolence on this bereavement. This statement is incorrect on the fact of it. Maryam Makānī died in 1013 A.H. (1) Abul Faḍl died in 1011 A.H. naturally the writer of this letter could not be Abul Faḍl.

(ii) In both of the letters addressed to Prince Salīm and the mother of Akbar, the writer complains against the behaviour of the Emperor and states that he had repeatedly apprised him of the critical situation of the Deccan, made certain requests and recommendations but he had received no reply from the Emperor. He requests the addressees to use their good offices with the Emperor and turn his attention to this old humble servant. There appears to be no significant cause which could have estranged Akbar to such an extent that he kept silent towards a man, who had been his staunch friend and confidant throughout his career and who had been sent on a very important mission by his own orders.

1. A.N., III, p.830.

The explanation of this unpalatable talk is that the writer is not Abul Faḍl but some one else who has tried to write in imitation of Abul Faḍl on behalf of some body else who was inimical to Khān Khānān. Prince Salim had been one of the complainants who persuaded Akbar to send Abul Faḍl away from the Court. It is most improbable that Abul Fadl should have written a letter to his enemy requesting him to intercede with the Emperor who himself was not satisfied with the behaviour of the Prince. (1)

Letter to the mother of Akbar.

6. (i) Another proof of the concoction of two letters, one addressed to the mother of Akbar and the second to Akbar, is proveded in the report made about Jānish Khān Bahādur. He is reported as Mirul Umarā in the former and as an army commander entitled Feroz Jang in the letter. In both these letters he is condemned as a man lacking sense and reason, addicted to smoking and opium, unfit to hold any job of responsibility in the army. According to the Ain-i-Akbari, the man is mentioned under the officers who held the rank of 500 horses. He was never an Amirul Umarā. He served in the Deccan with 'Abdur Raḥīm Khān Khānān and died of gastric pain in 1009 (1600 A.D.) in Rāmpuri. Abul Faḍl pays a tribute to him and remarks that he was one of the prominent soldiers (از گزین سپاہیان بود).(2) The writer of these letters could not be Abul Fadl who condemns a man as worthless in one place and praises him at another at the same time. In a letter addressed to Prince Dāniyāl he is referred to as شیر بیشہ مردانگی (the lion of the forest of manliness), (3) which is contradictory to his own statement made in the letters mentioned above.

1. In this connection please refer to the chapter on Abul Fadl's relations with Prince Salim.
2. A.N., III, p.787.
3. Ruqq'āt, p.30.

7. There are four letters addressed to (i) the wife of Akbar, p.60, (ii) the daughter of Akbar i.e. the wife of Mirza Muzaffar, p.62, (iii) the mother of Prince Dāniyāl, p.63 and (iv) Pari Rukh Begam, p.68. In all of these letters, after normal introductory laudatory epithets the addressee is named as Begam Jio. This title, in no sense, is such as could stand for all of these ladies. In the histories relating to Akbar, th there is no mention of any prominent figure among the daughters and wives of Akbar, known by this name. There is one Bīcha Jeo, the mother of Shamsuddin ʿAzīz Koka and the foster mother of Akbar. She was an aged woman at the time of writing and Abul Fadl could not add the prayers اقبال فرما, which is generally added to the names of younger people. Abul Fadl could not have been ignorant of the titles of the addressees.

8. An official letter addressed to ʿAbdullah Khān Uzbuk, the ruler of Turan, has also been included in this collection. This letter also does not appear to have been drafted by Abul Fadl for the following reasons :-

(i) Abdullah Khan Uzbuk has been addressed as سلطان بن السلطان بن السلطان الخاقان بن خاقان بن خاقان in this letter, which is contrary to the conventional epithet used for him in the other three letters addressed to him by Akbar and drafted by Abul Fadl as preserved in the Mukātabāt-i-ʿAllāmi, vol. I.

(ii) The phraseology is not in consonance with the traditions as usually employed in diplomatic communications. The writer mentions the name of the name of the Emperor in the text notwithstanding the fact that the writer himself is Jalāluddin Akbar. For instance

he writes :

P.11. شربت وصال جلال الدین محمدی را بہ ہر یک از تشنہ لبان بادیہ مفارقت
چشانند. درانجا خطبہ جلال الدین اکبر بادشاہی خوانده .

'Abdullah Khān Uzbuk is flattered by such an extravagant simile as زمین را نیز در جوف سبع سموات مانند نون عبد الله خان استحکام کرامت فرموده But in the same letter he is asked bluntly to use a little sense of his own, which is very much insulting.

(پارۂ عقل خود را هم کار فرمایند)

(iii) This letter must have been written after Akbar had come back from the conquest of Asīr because he mentions his participation in the Deccan campaigns (p.8) and described Khāndīs, Asīr and Burhānpur as amongst the conquered regions (p.10). Akbar left for Agra on 21st April, 1601 after the conquest of these regions. 'Abdullah Khān Uzbuk died in 1598 A.D. Was this letter addressed to a dead man? This letter appears only to be an exercise by an Insha writer who posed himself to be equal to Abul Fadl.

(iv) A manuscript copy of this book in the Panjab University Library, bearing mark ^{A}Pix 3, does not contain this letter. This letter appears to be a later addition.

Style. Abul Faḍl's style of letter-writing is at its best in this collection of letters. We find fuller revelation of his bobler self in these letters. The words and epithets used by him are necessary and appropriate to the occasion. The metaphors are illuminative and not decorative. The epithets and phrases in praise of the addressees, usually at the beginning of letters, rhyme with each other. The flow and strength of diction keeps pace with the ideas expressed. Complex sentences with inter-woven clauses have purposely been avoided. The manner of expressing the ideas is more clear and direct

than that of the Mukatabat-i-Allami, vol. I and III. The imagination is clear and communication of thoughts effective. Emotional sincerity pervades throughout these letters.

5. ʿIyār-i-Dānish.

The ʿIyār-i-Dānish is a simplified and re-written version of the Anwār-i-Suhayli by Hussain bin ʿAli Alwā'iz Kashifi. The Anwar-i-Suhayli is a Persian title given to the Kalila Dimna of Sanskrit. The Kalila Dimna has been translated in almost all the well known languages of the world. It went through many transformations till it took the form of ʿIyār-i-Dānish. It will not be out of place to give a brief history of the book so far as it relates to the ʿIyār-i-Dānish.

Origin. The Kalila wa Dimna is itself based on the Panchatantra (a book of five chapters) in Sanskrit. In the introduction to the Panchatantra, it is stated that Raja Amarshakti of the Deccan had three very stupid sons. He appointed Pandit Vishnu Sharma for their tuition. The Pandit taught them politics by means of stories, and thus this book was compiled. (1)

To Panchatantra were added a number of fables from other Indian sources; of these the first three chapters (11-13 in the Kalila Dimna edited by de Sacy) were taken from the 12th book of the Mahabharata. (2) The Kalila wa Dimna is the developed form of the Panchatantra. This was written by a Vaisnavite Brahman in 300 B.C. in Kashmīr. The original does not exist. Various versions of its text are available in Kashmīr, Nepāl and the Deccan. (3) Professor Edgerton of America has published this book

---

1. & 2. Encyclopaedia of Islam, p.695-98.
3. Giyan Chand, The Urdu Quarterly, July, 1950.

which is claimed to be the nearest approach to the original version. The five chapters of this book are identical with those of the Panchatantra. The book is named after the two principal characters Kirtak and Dimnak (a jackal and a fox).

Translations. The first translation of the Kalila and Dimna was made in Pahlawi in the reign of Anushirwan (Chosros II, 531-579 A.D.) The physician Burzoe, under orders, went to India and brought the Kartaka and Damnaka from the Court of Rai Tilhind, a king still unidentified. It is not even definite as to who made the translation-Burzōē or Buzurgmehr, the chief minister ? On the request of Burzoe, as a special favour to him, a life sketch and a note on his services, was added as a preface to his book. The Pahlawi translation of it is extinct otherwise many doubtful issues would have been clear.

It has come to light that a Periodent, Bund by name, translated the book in Syriac in 570 A.D. This version was published by G.Bickell, with German translation in 1876 A.D. It contains ten chapters including the five chapters of the Panchatantra.

The first Arabic version was made from Pahlawi in 759 A.D. by ʻAbdullah Ibn-i-Muqaffaʻ under orders of the ʻAbbāsid Calip Abu Jaʻfar Manṣūr (753-775 A.D.) It consists of 18 chapters, of which 14 consists of stories and the four contain details as under :-

i) Introduction to the book translated by ʻAli Ibn-i-Bābahāz.
ii) Burzōē's expedition to India for bringing the Kalila wa Dimna
iii) Preface to the book translated by Abdullah Ibn-Muqaffaʻ.
iv) Note on Burzōē, the physician, translated by Buzurgmehr bin Albukhtagan.

The versions of Ibn-i-Muqaffa's translation are many and variant and none of them is authentic.

Baron Silvester de Sacy edited the Kalila Dimna of Ibn-i-Muqaffa' in 1816 A.D. with an introduction in French. He had no knowledge of the existence of Syriac translation of this book.

Bishop Jesus, in his compilation of Syriac books, in the 14th century, mentioned that Bud translated the Kalila wa Dimna from a Hindustani language. He also inferred that Bud was the man who also translated the book into Pahlawi.

In an introduction to the 5th volume of the Ocean of Stories, a translation of the Katha Sarat Sāgar, Mr.Ross says that the Kalila wa Dimna was never written in Pahlawi. Bud's version was the oldest one. Ibn-i-Muqaffa' translated it and added some chapters of his own accord. Again, in his article in the J.R.A.S. 1926 Mr. Ross quoted a passage from Albirūni's Indica, in support of his statement. Albirūni had written that Abdullah Ibn-i-Muqaffa' deliberately added such details about Burzōē so that the simple-minded may feel sceptical and incline to Manichaism. "If we can doubt the addition", says Albirūni, "We cannot be free from doubting his translation".(1) On the authority of Albirūni, Prof. Noeldeke, has also held that the introduction is an addition by Ibn-i-Muqaffa'. Professor Arthur Christensen of Copenhagan University, in his book on the Sassanians in French, has refuted this opinion and has held that Burzōē could write and express the ideas which appear to be opposed to the religious traditions of the Zoroastrians. The philosophic and eclectic ideals were known to Chosros II and others in those days.(2)

1. Alhind, p.76.
2. L'Iran sous les sassanides, p.425-26

Though Burzoē's addition appears to be work of Ibn-i-Muqaffa' yet we hesitate to impute fabrication to him. It is out of question that Bud had made both the translations in Pahlawi and Syriac. Bud could never assert that he translated it direct from Sanskrit. The Arabic version cannot be believed to be a translation from Syriac because there are four extra chapters in Arabic version as compared with Syriac. As Ibn-i-Muqaffa' translated several other books from Pahlawi so it could beeasily presumed that he might have translated the Kalila wa Dimna as well.

The first translation in Persian was made by the poet Rūdki, under the orders of King Naṣr bin Aḥmad the Sāmānid (914-943 A.D.) Abul Fadl Muhammad Bal'ami, the minister read the Arabic text of Ibn-i-Muqaff' and the poit versified it. Unfortunately the original of the translation does not exist. Only a number of verses are found in the dictionaries and books, where these are cited as quotations or referred to as authority for the use of certain words.

The first and the best translation of this book was made in eloquent Persian prose by Abul Ma'āli Naṣrullah bin Muḥammad who dedicated his work to King Abul Muzaffar Bahramshah the Ghaznavid (1118-1152 A.D.) The book is known as Kalila Dimna-i-Bahramshahi. The fourth chapter in this translation differs from that of Ibn-i-Muqaffa' in this respect that Burzoē wrote his own account in the first person whereas in the former version it was in the third person by Buzurgmehr. By analysing the 16 fables in this book we find that the following 10 had been written by the Hindus :-

1. The lion and the cow.
2. Enquiry about the affairs of the fox (Dimna).
3. The pigeon with a collar.
4. The owl and the crow.

5. The monkey and the tortoise.
6. The ascetic and the weasel.
7. The cat and the mouse.
8. The prince and the bird.
9. The lion and the jackal.
10. The lioness and the whelps.

The three chapters and three stories added by Iranians are as under :-

1. The introduction to the Kalila Dimna.
2. Burzoē the physician.
3. The ascetic and his guest.
4. The barber and the Brahmans.
5. The traveller and the goldsmith.
6. The king and his companions.

Mullā Ḥussin bin ʻAli Wāʻiz Kāshifi rewrote the Bahrāmshāhi version in a gradiloquent style and entitled it as Anwār-i-Suhayli. Suhayl was the pen name of Niẓāmudaula Amīr Shaikh Aḥmad, one of the courtiers of Sultān Bayqra, the Timurid prince. He has excluded first four chapters of Ibn-i-Muqaffaʻs version. Instead he has given one on Burzōē's travels in India. He has added another fictitious introduction on his own account wherein he has mentioned a Humāyūnfāl, the king of China and Khujasteh Rāi, his minister. The story of King Dābishilīm's journey to the Ceylon with Hoshang's will, in order to learn the explanation thereof from Bīdpā, the sage, is also an invention of Mullā Wāʻiz. The first four stories under the first chapter, "Avoiding the talk of slanderers and calumniators" have also been added by him. "The Anwar-i-Suheili is full of absurd exaggerations, recondite words, vain epithets, far-fetched comparisons, and tactless bombast and represents to perfection the worst style of those florid writers who flourished under the patronage of the Timurids". (1)

1. E.G. Browne, Lit. Hist. of Persia, vol.II, p.352

Abul Faḍl's Version.

Abul Faḍl rewrote the Anwār-i-Suhaili in 1587 A.D. and entitled it the 'Iyār-i-Dāniṣh. He states in the preface to this book that, according to the wishes of His Majesty the Emperor Akbar, he rewrote it in simple language in order to make it intelligible to the common man. In this preface he has given a brief history of the book from Pahlawi translation to his own version. He made a mistake when he stated that Rūdki versified this book into Persian under the orders of Sultān Maḥmūd, the Ghaznavid. Rūdki died in 940 A.D. and Sultān Maḥmūd reigned from 998-1030 A.D. In this book the first chapter is the same as written by Buzurgmehr and the second chapter is an autobiographical account of Burzoe. Abul Faḍl has included two chapters which were left out from the Arabic version by Mullah Wa'iz.

At the end of the book Abul Faḍl has written a conclusion wherein he mentions the date of completion as 996 A.H. (1587 A.D.) and compares the times described in the book with those prevailing at the time of writing under the sovereignty of Akbar. He states that the Emperor is wiser, more shrewd, more independent in views then the one described in the book as dependent upon others, unwise,ill guided and misled. The book is described as dealing with state and social ethics. The sound and practicable advice has been given to the monarch with reference to administration of the country, redressing the grievances of the people, his behaviour towards his counsellors and his personal conduct as a benevolent and philanthropic monarch.

The book begins with the king Dābiṣhilīm asking Bīdpa, the sage, to give advice on certain matters. Bidpa explains and offers his advice on the probmems and then relates stories in amplification. The stories relate to animal kingdom. One animal narrates a story to another animal, the listener, in reply to the narrator,

refers to another story which he or she relates on his or her turn. Thus a chain of stories moves to the end of each chapter. Abul Faḍl, unlike Kāshifi, gives a summary of each chapter at the end.

Theme. Raja Dabshilim, the questioner and Bidopa, the Brahman are unidentified personalities, Wolluston, in his introduction to his translation of the Anwār-i-Suhaili (1878 A.D.) states that Bidpa lived in 300 B.C. Alexander, the Great, after defeating Raja Porus, appointed a Greek Governor and installed Dābshilīm on the throne. The new Raja tyrannized over his subjects. There was a learned Brahman, Bīdpā by name, in his reign, who openly rebuked and admonished him. One day, in order to understand some problems of astronomy, the Raja sent for Bīdpā. The king, having been satisfied with his inquiries, requested him to write a book wherein the personal and state ethics be described in the form of stories. Bīdpā, with one of his pupils, confined himself to a room and produced the book after a year. As a reward, the Brahman requested him that this book should be so strictly guarded that it should never go out of India. This is all fiction. After the departure of Alexander, Rājā Nand ruled over the country. After him the Morya dynasty held its sway.

Mullā Wā'iz says that Raja Dābshilīm was the ruler of Somnath. In a treasure, he found the will of Hoshang. In order to understand its meaning, he went to Bidpa in Ceylon.

In another Pahlawi treatise entitled Chatrang-nāmeh (the book of Chess), it is laid down that Raja Dev Āshram sent a chess board and chess pieces with other presents to Anushirwān. It is possible that Dabshilim is the mutilated form of Devashram. Mr. Browne has also subscribed to this view that the Kalila wa Dimna was brought from India along with the chess.(1)

1. Lit. Hist. of Persian, vol.I, p.110.

Its features. Abul Faḍl has not only summarized but also simplified the Anwār-i-Suhaili. He eliminated nearly all the verses interspersed in the original book. Only some of the very appropriate verses have been retained. Though Abul Fadl has tried to put the stories in his own language yet he could not restrain himself from borrowing some phrases from Hussain Wa'iz. Four pages of the Anwār-i-Suhaili have been reduced to two of the 'Iyār-i-Dānish. The comparison of one story in both the versions will reveal how far Abul Fadl was indebted to the original. The following phrases have either been borrowed from the Anwār-i-Suhaili verbatim, or used with slight variations:-

انوار سهیلی ص ۶۵-۱۰۱ (کانپور)	عیار دانش باب سوم ص ۳۳-۳۴ (نولکشور)
۱- از نشه شراب کامرانی سرخوش	۱- از شراب کامرانی سرخوش
۲- بطرب و نشاط مشغول بودند	۲. پیوسته بطرب و نشاط مشغول بودند
۳- چون دولت بوفا و جاه بی بقا سوی از فرزندان من برتابد	۳- چون دولت بوفا سوی از فرزندان من برتابد
۴. چنان فرا نمود که خزانه خود را آنجا مدفون میسازد	۴- چنان فرا نمود که خزانه خود را در اینجا پنهان میسازد
۵- تمامی جهات را بتصرف خویش گرفت	۵- تمامی مال و جهات را در تصرف خود آورد
۶- در قصه چهار خیال میبست - هرچه بدست آوردی تلف کردی	۶- در قصه چهار خیال میبست و هرچه بدست آوردی تلف میکردی
۷. شاهزاده خزانه تهی و لشکر بی سامان و پریشان حال یافت	۷- شاهزاده خزانه تهی و لشکر را بی سامان و پریشان یافت
۸- نفع بدیگر رسانند - حیف باشد گر کاهلی ورزد	۸- بدیگران نفع توانند رسانند - حیف باشد که کاهلی ورزند

Abul Faḍl has not used his usual technique of writing in this book. He has merely written the Anwār-i-Suhaili in simple prose. Nevertheless, the continuity and synthesis of the stories are maintained; the effectiveness remains and sometimes it is enhanced owing to the brevity and simplicity of the language.

6. <u>GITA.</u>

There are two different translations of <u>the Gita</u> and both are ascribed to Abul Fadl.

The Mss. bearing number Add. 7676 in the British Museum; Number 1949 in the India Office Library, No.14 in the Library of the King's College, Cambridge, and Ms. mentioned by Aumer in Munich catalogue on p.140 and the one in Panjab University Library with No.Pc.III, I; all correspond to each other and have the following beginning :-

دهرت راشتر گفت که کوروکهیت که مزرعه نیکوکاریست

<u>Two Versions.</u> All of these have been ascribed to Abul Fadl. But Mr. Ethe, after examining the copy in the India Office, has observed that the translator of the manuscript is Dara Shakuh as it is revealed by a note on fol.1(a). This translation could not have been that of Abul Fadl who was decidedly a better master of Persian Language and expert in the use of words and idioms. The version of the translation in question is loose and languid and lacks polish and eloquence.

The undermentioned Mss.of the translation of <u>the Gita</u> are different from those cited above:-

No.Add. 5651 in the British Museum.

No.LXXVI in the manuscripts of Sir William Jones.

No. P III,I in the Panjab University Library.

All of these manuscripts correspond to each other and have the following short preamble :-

این نسخه گیتا که در انکشاف سرایر قدرت ذوالجلال و دستگاه معرفت حقیقت لایزال است- آن را
باجازت سلطان عادل و برهان کامل جلال الدین اکبر ... بنده شیخ ابوالفضل از زبان سنسکرت ترجمه
بعبارت فارسی و عربی در آورد

This is most probably the translation made by Abul Fadl for the reason that it is couched in good eloquent Persian.

The original text of <u>the Bhagwad Gita</u> begins as follows :-

"Dhartrastra said, "Assembled with a desire of battle, O Sanjya, what did my sons and those of Panduvas

do one the holy land of Kurukshatra? Seeing the army of the Panduvas arrayed for the battle, King Doryodhana approached his Druna and said".

The English translation has been made by Prof. Vishwas G. Bhat from Sanskrit. Abul Faḍl rendered it in Persian as under :-

دهرت راشت پرسید که ای سنجی وردم ما و جماعه پانڈوان در وقت روبرو شدن اول به چه کار
مشغول شدند - سنجی گفت که جرجودهن فوجهای پانڈوان استاده دیده نزد درون آمده گفت

<u>Theme</u>. The gist of <u>the Gita</u> is that Sanjaya related to Rājā Dhartrāsht, the conversation which took place between Arjuna and Krishna on the battle-field where the forces of the cousins, the Pānduvās and Kuruvās were arrayed against each other. Arjuna did not wish to fight and kill his own kith and kin. Krishna made him understand that there was one and all pervading indestructible soul in all the human beings of the world. The body dies but the soul changes form and continues to live in another form. Therefore, to kill one human being is no loss of life. Arjuna is further instructed by Krishna to the effect that God is Omnipresent and Omnipotent and man can attain union with Him by purification of his soul, control of the outer senses, refraining from evils and doing good to others. The perfect man is he who is good without expecting the reward of his actions. After making Arjuna his confident, Krishna assumes a monstrous figure and kills the enemy for the triumph of his disciple. At the end Krishna preaches Arjuna to spurn aside worldly ambitions, concentrate in worship and finally achieve the refuge into Him. Arjuna, being convinced of his teachings agreed to do what Krishna commanded.

At the end of the Persian Ms. in the Panjab University Library, the following note has been appended:-

"Whosoever goes deep into the reality of <u>the Gita</u>, the word of Lily-coloured Krishna, will understand to the best, all truth abouth gnosticism and subtleti-

of knowledge. He will regain his inner consciousness and will have no need of studying the science with explanations and commentaries".

<u>Origin</u>

<u>The Gita</u> is originally a part of <u>the Mahabharta</u>. It is now an ascertained fact that this version of the epic was extant in about 300 B.C. This version presupposes the complete deification of Krishna and could not have been in the Epic at the time of Vyāsā's Jaya". <u>The Mahabharta</u> contains parts that are anterior to the deification of Krishna and the semi-deification of the Panduvas.(1)

The translation is well done by Abul Fadl. He faithfully conveyed the ideas in eloquent prose. The translation has an independent diction of its own. The sense of the original text is never lost sight of. At some places the rendering is very appropriate. For instance :-

(i) "Harmlessness, truth, absence of anger, renunciation,peace, absence of spite, kindness towards all beings, absence of avarice, softness, humility, absence of ficleness". (p.243 of Vishwas's translation).

Abul Fadl's translation runs as under :-

عدم ایذای خلق - راست گفتن - فرو خوردن غضب - ترک همه چیز - جمعیت خاطر - پوشیدن عیب دیگران
رعایت شیوهٔ مهربانی بحال جهانیان و قناعت و ملایمت و حیا و وقار

(fol. 44a, P.U.L. Ms.)

(ii) "Jnuna is superior to practice (abhyasa), meditation is superior to knowledge, and the abandonment of actions superior to meditation, fear from such abandonment is attained uninterrupted peace". (p.219 of Vishwas's translation)

Abul Fadl translated it as follows :-

دانش از ورزش بهتر است - و از دانش مراقبه و ترک نتیجه اعمال خوشتر از مراقبه که آرام دل
حاصل می شود

(fol.38a of P.U.L. Ms.)

---

1. <u>The Bhagwadgita, A study</u>, p.68.

A comparison of both the versions reveals how far the Persian text is a literal translation or a free expression of the original ideas. Some Sanskrit scholar must have helped Abul Faḍl and therefore, the responsibility for incorrect rendering at some places does not lie on him. The pronunciation and transliteration are, however, defective.

Another Persian translation of the Gita, entitled "Pothi Siri Gita Ji", was made by Rai Mool Chand and others and published in the Kohi Noor Press, Lahore in 1864. The chronogram گوگلشن سرت brings out 1249 A.H. (1824 A.D.), the date of its translation. The translators who are spoken of as ṣūfīs and enlightened mystics, in the introduction, assert that this translation has necessarily been undertaken in simple language owing to the existing ambiguous versions of the holy book. But by comparison and examination it has been revealed that this translation though not exactly the copy, is yet more or less the rewritten version of the translation by Abul Faḍl, cited above (P III,1). The additions, omissions or amendments have marred the beauty of the original translation. The comparison of a few sentences is sufficient to show that the translators based their version on Abul Faḍl's copy.

نسخهٔ قلمی ابوالفضل (پنجاب یونیورسٹی)	نسخهٔ رائے مول چند
۱- پسران را که گرفتار کمند اجل شده‌اند و مرگ پنجهٔ خود در ریشهٔ دل و جگر ایشان فرو برده. ص۲	۱- پسران را که گرفتار کمند اجل شده‌اند و مرگ پای خود در ریشهٔ دل و جگر شان فرو برده اند. ص۱۱
۲- در زمان مقابله خوبیهای بوی عنبرین و نکهت گل و نسرین از لطافت و نغز بشام کدام از طرفین رسید ص۲	۲- در بهم رسیدن خوبیهای بوی عنبرین و نکهت و شمیم گل و نسرین از کدام جانب بظهور آمد
۳- صدای بوق و نقاره آنچنان در زیر گنبد اخضر بپیچید که گوش املاکیان کر گردید و آوازهٔ بزن و بکش و بگیر و بده آنقدر تقاضه یافت که جگر بینیان از رعب بگداخت ص۲ (الف)	۳- صداهای بوق و نقاره آنچنان در زیر گنبد اخضر بپیچید که آوازهٔ بزن و بگیر و بدار و بده دلیران هم بر یک دیگر پوشیده شد ص۱۲

Only in some places the translation appears to be more appropriate and well-worded than that of Abul Faḍl.

Modern Version. We have another good translation, done by Professor Abbas Shustri, late of Maysore University, in modern Persian, which was published in Tehran in 1936 A.D. The learned translator states that he read the Bhagwadgita from a Brahman and then rendered it into prose in his own words. This is not a literal translation of the verses but the chief aim of the translator had been to bring home to the readers the actual knowledge and philosophy of life contained in the book in simple idiomatic language. And he has been successful in this purpose.

7. Majmu'ullughat.

There is a Ms. entitled the Majmu'ullughat, in the Panjab University Library, consisting of 125 filio on a size of 9" by 6". It had been copied by one Sa'dullah in 1194 A.H. (1780 A.D.) at a place known as Mundsur or Sindsur. This is a small dictionary as its name indicates supposed to have been compiled by Abul Fadl in 994 A.H. (1585 A.D.). After the usual praise of God and the customary encomium of the Prophet, in the introduction, Abul Fadl states, "From childhood to the age of puberty I had been in search of words. I used to learn their meaning from my teacher, the learned of the age. I used to put them in black and white to avoid obliteration and utilise them for future reference. As it is said by the scholars that the dictionary is a key to the knowledge, so I made up my mind to consolidate and compile a lexicon from the different notes I had made from time to time. My chief aim was to help those students who come across difficult words in the curricula and do not find a suitable handy dictionary to understand them. With this purpose in view I compiled it with the help of the famous dictionaries in 994 A.H., in thereign of the champion of the state and religion, Abul Fath Jalaluddin

Muhammad Akbar Badshah-i-Ghazi, may God perpetuate his kingdom and country". At the end he thanks God for its compilation and says, "Whosoever will have an access to this book will be relieved from dependence on other dictionaries".

This is primarily an Arabic-Persian dictionary with only a few words of Persian in it. The roots of Arabic words are not referred to as usually given in Arabic lexicons. The words whether they are verbs, nouns, used as subjects or objects, masculine or feminine, singular or plural, in positive or superlative degrees, in past or present tenses, have been included as they would have occurred in the books. Simple common words have also been included, for example اتٰ : دادن (to give), آت ، بیار (bring imperative) اب : father, آبا : plural of اب

Usually one meaning for one word has been given for easy reference. The words belong to different branches of sciences e.g. Astronomy, Physiology, Medicine, Zoology, Botany, Litterature and Theology. Some very strange and rare words have also been given therein, e.g.

حفز ۔ گرداش   احاش = درپافتن   بلبتہ ۔ وارہیدہ

دعص = تودہ ریگ   زب = کیر

The words are not arranged strictly in alphabetical order, for example, the words ابول ۔ ابلیاء ۔ ابتلوع ۔ ابدال under the alphabet الف and درمان ۔ درزش ۔ دروان ۔ دراع ۔ under the alphabet د occur in the sequence given here. Pronunciation or intonation of words have not been described.

The authority for the meaning has seldom been quoted except for the word آس wherein he quotes Farhang-i-Jahangiri. The compiler states that آس داروی است کہ در تازی مورد ۔ while the Farhang-i-Jahangiri gives the meaning as نام درخت موردست آنرا بتازی اسا خوانند و برگ آنرا حب الآس می خوانند

If the reference is correct, of which one cannot be definite on account of indequate quotation, one is led to believe that the lexicon is spurious and has been wrongly ascribed to Abul Faḍl. The compiler of the lexicon says that it was compiled in 984 A.H., while the Farhang-i-Jahāngīrī was finished in 1017 A.H. in the reign of Nurudiin Jahangir, though undoubtedly its compilation was ordered by Akbar in 1006 A.H. Abul Fadl was killed in 1011 A.H. Naturally he could not quote the Farhang-i-Jahāngīrī, the name which was proposed after his death. If this reference is a later addition or a fresh interpolation, this book will stand in the name of Abul Faḍl. There is no other reference to any other dictionary in the whole of the treatise. No other copy of this book is traceable in the oriental libraries of the world.

In the introduction of the Ghiath-ul Lughāt (compiled in 1242 A.H.), Maulvi Ghiathuddin, its compiler, mentions Majmu'ullughat, amongst other lexicons which he has used as his sources.

Muhammad Taqi Bahar, the poet laureat of Irān, in his book the Sabak Shanāsi, vol. III, p.290, states that Abul Fadl compiled a dictionary but he quotes no source of his information nor mentions any copy of the book which he might have seen. His knowledge about Abul Fadl is very meagre. He refers to him as a native of the Deccan; the author of the Bahār-i-Dānish in place of 'Iyār-i-Dānish and his date of death as 1013 A.H. in place of 1011 A.H.

8. Introduction to the Mahabharta.

Abul Fadl wrote a long introduction to the Persian translation of the Mahābharta. The summary of the introduction is as follows :-

After two long pages devoted to the praise of God, Abul Fadl continues to state the various qualities and qualifications of the Emperor Akbar to page seventeen of the Ms. in Panjab Públic Library(٧٠ غ) One of the benefits which accrued from the benevolent policy of toleration of the king,"says Abul Fadl, "was that men of learning with patient research and tolerance realized the truth of basic principles of all religions. The Emperor was anxious to curb the prejudice and estrangement prevailing between the Hindus and the Muslims due to the orthodoxy, conservatism and narrow-mindedness of the religious leaders. Therefore, he took steps to translate the prominent religious books of one community so that the other may see for itself the good in the scripture of the others". With this purpose in view, the Mahābhārta was selected to be translated in simple Persian. Another aim for the selection of this book was to convince the common Muslim of the ancient origin of the world and the man, because he believed the world was about 5000 years old. He further describes some of the salient features of the book, and states, according to the book the history of the world is divided into two eras, Satyug and Kalyug. Satyug is subdivided into three stages. The learned of India believe that the world and these eras have no beginning. The world is composed of five elements, the fifth being the sky. The heavenly bodies constitute the soul of the sages. Brahmā created the human beings and divided them into four communities i.e. Brahmans, Kashatrias, Vaishes, Śudrās and allotted them different duties in the society. Brahma also gave them different duties in the society. Brahma also gave them the Vedās for guidance.

While giving his impressions about the book Abul Fadl remarks that it is so full of wonderful stories and novel ideas, that in spite of his natural intellect and learning in Greek philosophy, he goes down in the whirlpool of surprise.

From page 26 onwards of his introduction, Abul Fadl has given a summary of the main story of the Mahābhārta. He states that Rājā Dharat of Hastnāpur had a son who was blessed with two sons named Dharatrāsht and Pandu. Dharatrasht was blind so the kingship devolved on Pandu whos five sons later became known as Pānduvās. Dharatrāsht had hundred and one sons who are known as Koruvās in the Mahābhārta. On the death of Pāndu the sovereignty was transferred to the house of Dharatrāsht. The rivalry between both the houses was keen. It was advised that Panduvas should live at a place far distant from the capital to avoid any conflict in future. Jurjodhan (Daryodhan), the eldest son of Dhartrāsht conspired to build a house and use lac and tar in the material so that by a little ignition it may catch fire and destroy the inmates. The Pāndvās became alert and left the house. Another woman with her five sons occupied the house and was burnt to death. After their roamings the Panduvas married Darupadi the daughter of a famous Rājā and used her as wife to maintain equality and equanimity among themselves even in matrimony. Sometimes afterwards their bravery, grace and magnanimity became known far and wide. Daryodhan, having heard the news of their existence, thought out another plan. Assuring them of his friendship and kindness he called them to Hastnapur. He allotted half of the kingdom to them. The Pandvas administered the government excellently and the people rallied round them.

The Koruvās thus rendered subordinate to them, hatched up, another scheme, arranged a grand rally (yag) and invited the kings of foreign countries and also the Pānduvās on that occasion. As soon as the feast was over they engaged the Panduvās in a gambling bout. The latter lost all money and property. In the last stake it was agreed that whosoever lost should abdicate and go to the jungle for twelve years and when back from exile, they should remain in the cities incognito and if they were recognized in this interim period, they should go back again to exile for the same period. The Panduvās lost the bid. They acted according to the agreement but the Koruvas did not abide by the terms and did not give back their kingdom. At last the fience battle was fought. The Koruvās lost the field; only Daryoḏhan with four of his companions escaped. On the side of the Pānduvās only eight could survive including five brothers themselves and Krishna.

Linked with the above story is the history of Krishna and his conquest of Raja Kans. A biographical sketch of Krishna is given by Abul Fadl. After a reign of 36 years, the Panduvas went into retirement. It is said that one of the descendents of Arjuna, one of the Pānduvās and a just and kind ruler asked one of his learned men of the court, Vayās by name, to relate the cause of the havoc caused by the wars waged by his ancestors. He put in writing the whole history together with his preachings and entitled the book as the Mahābharta. Maha means the great and Bharat the war because in this book the history and wars of Raja Bharat are described. Consequently the "Bharat" acquired the meaning of war in common parlance.

The book contains one hundred thousand verses and consists of 17 chapters and epilogue. Abul Fadl gives in brief the contents of all the chapters and mentions the number of verses contained in each of them. At the end of the introduction he remarks that these surprising stories should not be regarded as incredible because it is just possible that in bygone ages and times such things might have happened.

The introduction by Abul Fadl covers 42 pages of Ms. 10" by 5", with 15 lines in a page in a bold good Nasta'līq hand, The copies of the Mahabharta with Abul Faḍl's introduction are available in the big oriental libraries of the world and inprivate collections. The introduction was written in 995 A.H. (1586 A.D.) which should be the date of the completion of the translation.

Abdul Qādir Badāyuni says that in 990 A.H., he himself with Naqib Khan, Mullā Shāh and Muḥammad Sultān Thānesarī were ordered to translate the Mahābhārta into Persian. Faiḍī revised and put their version into elegant prose (1) The title of رزمنامه (Razmnāmeh) given to the Persian version according to Badāyūni, is not mentioned in the Ms.

In a British Museum Ms. (Rieu, No.56421, fol. 481b, Naqib Khan who calls himself Ibn-i-Abdul Latif ul Hussin, says that he translated the whole work from Sanskrit, in one year and a half and that he completed it in Sha'ban, 992 A.H. He was assisted by some Brahmans whomhe calls

دیب سهر - ستاوردان - مدهسودان - چترگهوج - کباون

The introduction by Abul Fadl begins with :-

ای عرضه ده هزار عالم از شوق تو مست - سر در ره جست و جوی جان جو کف دست
بس تخته سیاه گشت بس خامه شکست - نقشی نه نما شتند زانگونه که هست

---

1. E & D. vol. V, p.537, Ain, Blochman's translation, p.184.

9. Tūtī Nāmeh.

Various Versions.

This book has its original in Sanskrit, which is entitled as Shaksaptati i.e. seventy tales of the parrot. There are two versions of the Shaksaptati; one is in ornate prose compiled by Chintamuni Bhat; the other is in simple language written by Sweetamber Jain. The dates of these writings are not known. Hem Chand has mentioned the stories of Shaksaptati in his book the Yog Shāstra compiled in the 10th century of Christian era. There also exists a Mahratti version of this book. Dev Datt translated it in Eastern Rajasthani and called it Shak batri. Bheron Prasād translated it in Brij Bhāsha from Sanskrit. It was published with the title of Shakbatri by Naval Kishore at Lucknow. (1)

Some of the stories of Shaksaptati have been borrowed from the Panchatantra, the Baitāl Pachīsī and the Hitopadesha.

Persian translation.

This book was rendered into Persian but the date of the translation and the name of the translator are not known. It was a lengthy and an uninteresting version as pointed out by Ḍiā-uddīn Nakhshabi who rewrote it in simpler and clearer language in 730 A.H. (1330 A.D.) He also made some changes in the text. He omitted a number of obscure and immoral tales relating to women. He borrowed some stories from other books. The 50th and 451st were taken from the Bakhtyār-nāmeh (2) by Shamsuddīn Muḥammad Daqā'iqī Mervazi. Nakhshabi's version is entitled as Tūtī-Nāmeh

1. The Urdu, July, 1950.
2. Bakhtyār nāmeh is a book of moral and social stories similar to (continued...)

and contains 52 stories. It was published in 1895 at Amritsar.

Nakhshabi's Tūtināmeh was also written in ornate verbos and difficult language. Its abridgment was made by Abul Fadl in simpler language, under the orders of Akbar. It contains 52 stories like that of Nakhshabi's version. The copy of this Tūtināmeh exists in the British Museum. There is also a copy in India office bearing number Add.10589.(1). It begins as:
سپاس هزار و هزاران مزید و ستایش دادار

Story. The story of the original book is as follows :- Madan Sen son of Seth Hardit was sent by the Raja of a state to purchase jewels and was commanded to come back in 72 days. In his absence, his wife, Parbati got enamoured of a son of the minister. A meeting was arranged between them through an agent. When Parbati was on the verge of departure to see her permour, she remembered the instruction of her husband who had advised her not to go out for any business without taking counsel from the parrots. These birds were very wise and used to advise the master in times of difficulty. She asked permission from the female parrot who forbade her to go out. Being enraged she killed the bird on the spot. Then she approached the male parrot who, having seen the fate of his companion, acted wisely. He agreed to co-operate with her and permitted her to go out to see her lover but engaged her in conversation and began to relate a story. He continued the tale in such an absorbing manner that she listened to it till dawn and thus withheld the mistress for the night. Every night when she came to beg permission of him, he narrated a story and engaged her for the greater length of night. By continuing this

---

(continued from back page)
those of Sindbad and the sailor. Originally it was in Pahlawi. Its Persian version was published in Tehran in 1310. 1.Rieu. p.754a.)

process every next night he caused her to stay in the house till her husband returned. Parbati herself told the husband the incident and wisdom of the parrot who saved her chastity. After that they lived happily. The parrot flew away to a mountain and transformed itself into a heavenly being. In the heaven he joined his female companion. Formerly these birds belonged to Heaven, but were transmigrated into animal bodies by the curse of a saint.

In Persian version, the Indian names have been changed into fictitious Persian ones; Mubarak has been substituted for the merchant, Mimun for his son and Khujasteh for the son's wife, all the three words mean auspicious. The story has also been given a different turn at the end. On return from journey Mimun learnt from the parrot the perfidy of his wife. He felt enraged and killed her on the spot.

10. Bible .

Abul Fadl also translated the Bible into Persian in 986 A.H. Abdul Qadir Badayuni informs us that Abul Faḍl wrote the following words in place of بسم الله
ای نام تو ژژو کرستو
Fayḍi added the second hemistitich as under

سبحانك لا سواك يا هو

Badayuni has translated the words ژژو کرستو as مهربان و بسیار بخش (1) (Kind and Munificent) as if he thought these were equivalent to رحمن رحیم . He made a mistake in this respect. The words ژژو کرستو obviously were the Persian version of Jesus Christ. Faydi was also mistaken when he added the qualifying hemistitch, which could not be used for a man. The words mean, "You are holy, O God, there could be none but you".

The manuscript copy of the translation is not traceable.

---

1. Muntakhab, II, p.260

11. <u>Munajat.</u>

It is an interesting Invocation to God, by Abul Fadl. It was composed in 993 A.H.(1585 A.D.) as is revealed by the following chronogram. (1)

بحمد الله که این فرخنده نامه - که از کلک ارادت شد فراهم
بزبان شاهنشاهی ست گر عشق - بود اسرار غیبی بیت مبهم
پی تاریخ اتمام بجویید - ارادت نامهٔ سلطان عالم
۹۹۳

The <u>'Munājāt'</u> has not been published but can only be seen in the Manuscript. Generally it has been copied along with the Latifa-i-Faidi, a collection of letters by Faidi, the elder brother of Abul Fadl. It begins as under :-

مناجات قدسی تالیف الهامات شیخ ابوالفضل علامی طاب الله روحه
الهی الهی بهر سوکه می نگرم نمود تست و بهر سو که می آرم نور تست - کعبه و کلیسه
است و قبله دل بهر سو راست - سبحان الله و لا اله الا هو -

It can be divided into three parts. The first is in praise of God. His beneficence, Mercy and other attributes. The second is devoted to the eulogy of the Emperor. God is evoked to give long life to such a good and noble King and the opportunity to the people to serve him with obedience and gratitude. Abul Fadl himself beseeches the favour of achieving the four degrees of sincerity (2) in the service of the Emperor. The third part is addressed to God, Almighty and the fulfilment of aspirations is begged of Him. God is addressed as :-

آمرزش بخش - فریاد رسا - ضعیف پرورا - حاجت بخش -

---

1. <u>Minhājut-twārīkh</u>, p.191.
2. Refer to chapter 'Abul Fadl and Din-i-Elahi'.

"Oh Fulfiller of our prayers, Oh Redresser of our grievances, Oh Nourisher of the weak, Oh Guide to the true path etc."

Abul Fadl entreats God to forgive his dereliction from duty, show mercy upon the misguided, enlighten him on the path of truth and research and keep him away from the path of falsehood and blind submissiveness. For instance mark the following prayers :-

۱- ای مرهم جراحت هر دل ریش. ای مونس دراحت هر درویش از تقلید نجاتم ده
و در تحقیق راهم بخش

۲- هدایت بخش - راه تاریک است و شب تاریک. ورنه باده فرسنگ در راه ضلالت قدم زده‌ام
با بسیرو شیاد ضلالت رفتار قدم زده‌ام برس این گم و عذر ما بپذیر

The whole prayer is the solemn appeal of a sincere and suffering soul. The sentences are assonant and rhetorical. The quatrains interspersing the prose increase the tempts of address. It is a well worded piece of prose, simple, direct and forceful.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Contemporary Sources.

Abdul Bāqi Nihāwandi. Ma'āthiri Raḥīmī. Calcutta 1925.

Abdul Ḥaq. Akhbārul Akhyār. Delhi, 1332 A.H.

Abdul Qādir Badāyūni. Muntakhabut tawārīkh, edited by
W.N.Lees, M.Kabiruddin Ahmad and M.Ahmad Ali.
Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1869. (3 volumes).
Translated into English
vol.I by G.S.A. Ranking.
vol.II by W.H.Lowe.
vol.III by Sir Wolsely Haig. Bib.Ind.Calcutta,1923.

Abul Faḍl. Akbarnāmeh edited by Aḥmad ʿAli and ʿAbdur Raḥīm.
Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1896, 3 volumes.
Translated into English by H.Beveridge.
Tatimma-i-Akbarnāmeh by ʿInāyatullah.

Abul Fadl. Ain-i-Akbari edited by H.Blochmann. Bib.Ind.
Calcutta. 1867-77.
Translatted into English
vol.I by H.Blochmann, Bib. Ind. Calcutta.
vol.II and III by H.S.Jerret. (1868-1894)
vol.II revised by Jadunath Sarkar. Calcutta.1948.

" Mukātabāt-i-ʿAllāmi. 3 volumes. Published several times.
Naval Kishore. Lucknow. 1863.

" Ruq'āt-i-Abul Faḍl. Printed several times.
Alwi Press, 1270 A.H.
Cawnpur, 1913.

" Introduction to the Mahābhārat, translated into
Persian by Abdul Qādir Badāyūni, Naqīb Khān Mullāh
Shāh Muḥammad Sultān Thānesri. Ms. in P.P.L.

" Persian translation of the Gita. Ms. in P.U.L.

" ʿIyār-i-Dānish. Persian version of the Kalila wa Dimnah.
Naval Kishore Edn.

" Majmūʿul Lughāt. Ms. in P.U.L.

" Ṭūṭi nāmeh. Simplified version of Tuti Nameh by
Nakhshabi. Ms. in British Museum.

" Introduction to Tārikh-i-Alfi compiled by Mullāh
Aḥmad. Revised by Asif Khan and Badāyūni. Ms. in the
British Museum and India Office, Libraries.

Aḥmad. Tarīkh-i-Alfi. Revised by Asif Khan and Badāyūni.Ms.
in British Museum and India Office Libraries.

Bābur, Ẓahīruddin. Tuzuk-i-Bāburi. Translated into Persian
by Abdur Raḥīm Khān Khānān.
Translated into English by John Leyden and William
Erskine. 1826. Annotated and revised by L.King.
Oxford University Press, 1921.

Bāyazīd Biyāt. Tadhkirah-i-Humāyūn wa Akbar edited by
Hidayat Hussain, Calcutta, 1941.

De Laet. The Empire of the Great Mongol. Translated by
J.S. Hoyland. Bombay. 1928.

Du Jarric. Akbar and the Jesuits. Translated by C.H.Payne.

Dhulfiqar Ardestani or Mohsin Fani. Dabistanul Madhahib. Lucknow. 1877.
Translated into English by David Shea and Anthony Troyer. Paris. 1843. 3 volumes.

Eliot. H.M. and Dowson, John. Translators and editors of the History of India as told by its own historians. vol.VI. London. 1875.

Farishta, Muhammad Qasim. Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi edited by John Briggs. Poona. 1832.
Translated into English by John Briggs as History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India. 4 volumes. Calcutta. 1910.
Translated by Jonothan Scott under the title of History of Deccan. 2 volumes. London, 1894.
Translated by Alexander Dow. 3 volumes. London, 1903.

Faidi. Latifa-i-Faidi. Ms. in P.U.L.

Foster, Williams. Early travels in India, 1583-1614. London, 1921.

Fuzuni Astarabadi. Futuhat-i-'Adil Shahi. Ms. in B.M. No. Add. 2751. It is the history of Adilshahis or Bijapur from their origin to 1054 A.H. The author was a courtier of Sultan Muhammad, 1035-1070 A.H. (1625-1664)

Gulbadan Begam. Humayun Nameh. Edited and translated by A.Beveridge, London, 1902.

Jahangir, Nuruddin, Emperor. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri. Ghazipur, 1863.
Translated into English by Alexander Rogers; edited by H.Beveridge. Lonxong, 1909.

Jowhar. Tadkiratul Waqi'at or the private memoirs of the Mughal Emperor Humayun. Translated into English by Charles Stewart. London, 1832.

Kesho Das. Bir Singh Dev Charita (Hindi)
Portion relating to the murder of Abul Fadl, translated by Siri Ram Sharma and published in Calcutta Review, May and June, 1924.

Khafi Khan, Muhammad Hashim. Muntakhabul Lubab.
Part I edited by M.Kabiruddin Ahmad. 1869.
Part II edited by M. Kabiruddin Ahmad. 1874.
Part III edited by Wolseley Haig, 1925.
Bib.Ind. Calcutta.

Monserrate. Commentary of Father Monserrate on his journey to the court of Akbar. Translated into English by J.S.Hoyland and N.Bannerji. Calcutta, 1922.

Mu'tamad Khan, Muhammad Sharif. Iqbalnameh Jahangiri. Naval Kishore. Lucknow, 1870.

Nizamuddin Ahmad. Tabaqat-i-Akbari edited by B.De and M. Hidayat Husain. Bib.Ind. Calcutta. 1927-35.
Translated into English by B.De. Bib.Ind. Calcutta.

Nurul Haq. Zubatut tawarikh. Ms. in P.P.L.

Sikander Beg Turkuman. Alam Arai Abbasi. 2 volumes. Tehran, 1314 A.H.

2. Secondary Sources.

'Abbās Shustri. Translation of the Gita. Tehran, 1936.

'Abdul Hafīz. Nāfi-'ut-Tālibīn. Commentary on Mukātabāt-i-'Allāmi. Ms. in P.U.L.

'A lāuddin 'Atā Malik Jowayni. Tārīkh-i-Jahānkushā, edited by Mirza Muḥammad Qizwini, 1915.

August, Frederic, Count of Noir. The Emperor Akbar, Translated from German into English by A.S. Beveridge. Calcutta, 1890.

Bahar, Muhammad Taqi. Sabak Shanasi, vol.III, Tehran.

Beni Prasad. History of Jahangir. Madras, 1922.

Browne, E.G. Literary History of Persian. Cambridge. 4 vols.

Christensen, Arthur. L'Iran sous les Sassanides. Copenhague 1936.

Clouston, W.A. Arabic Poetry. 1880.

Elphinstone. History of India. London, 1916.

Ghulām Sarwar. Khazīnatul Aṣfiyā. Lahore, 2 volumes.

Habibullah, A.B.M. The foundation of Muslim Rule in India. Lahore, 1945.

Haig, Wolsely. The Cambridge History of India. Vol.IV. 1937.

Havell, E.B. The History of Aryan Rule in India. London. Harrap, 1916.

Hodivala, Shahpur Shāh. Studies in Indian Muslim History, a critical commentary on Eliot and Dowson's History of India as told by its own authors. Bombay, 1939.

Hosten, Father, Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, V.

Hosten and Lowde. Travels of S. Manrique.

Ibne Ḥasan. Central Structure of the Mughal Empire. 1936.

Irvine, William. The Army of Indian Mughals. London. 1903.

Ishtiāq Husain Qureshi. Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi. Lahore, 1941.

Ishwari Prasād. History of Mediaeval India. Allahbad, 1940.

Jāmi, Abdur Raḥmān. Nafaḥātul Uns. Lucknow, 1915.

Jainarajadasa, G. Abul Fadl and Akbar. Madras, 1934.

Khāfi Khān. Muntakhabul Lubāb, 2 volumes. Calcutta, 1869-74.

Khosla, R.P. Mughal kingship and nobility. Allahabad, 1934.

Khwāndmīr. Raudatus Ṣafā. Lucknow. Naval Kishore, 1874.

Lanepol, Stanley. Medieval India under Muhammadan Rule. London, 1914.

Malleson. Akbar and rise of the Mughal Empire. Oxford, 1903.

Muhammad Haider. Tārīkh-i-Rashīdi, translated by K.D.Ro
London, 1895.

Muhammad Iqbal, Sir. Six lectures on Reconstruction of Religious thought in Islam. London, 1934.

Muhammad Latīf. Agra. Calcutta, 1895.

Mūl Chand and others. Pothi Siri Gitaji. Lahore, 1864.

Phillot, D.C. Translation of a letter by Abul Fadl. P.U.L.

Radha Krishnan V.Editor. History of Philosophy-East and West. 2 volumes, Allenand Unwin, 1952.

Read Herbert. English Prose Style. London.

Roy, Choudhuri, Makhan Lal. The Dīn-i-Ilāhī or the Religion of Akbar. Calcutta. 1941.

Sachau, Edward. Translation of the Āthārul Bāqiya ʿAnil qurūnil Khāliya by Albīrūni.

Sachau, Edward. Translation of Indica by Albīrūni.

Saran, P.Provincial Government of the Mughals. Allahbad, 1941.

Sarkār, Jadunath. Mughal Administration. Calcutta. 1920.

Shāh Nawāz Khān. Ma'āthirul Umarā. Calcutta. R.A.S.B. 1309 A.H. 3 volumes.

Siddiq Hasan. Shamʿi Anjuman. Bhopal. 1293 A.H.

Smith, V.A. Akbar, the great Mogul. Oxford. 1940.

Siri Ram Sharma. The Religious policy of the Mughal Emperor. Calcutta, 1940.

Tārā Chand. Influence of Islam on Indian Culture. Allahabad.

Tavernier. Travels in India, translated by V.Ball. Oxford University Press, 1925.

Vishwas G.Bhat. Bhagvadgita, a study. Poona.

Wahed Hasan. Administration of justice during the Muslim Rule in India. Calcutta, 1934.

Wright, T.W. Philosophy of style. Chicago, 1892.

Yūsuf Ali, A. The Making of India. London, 1925.

Yūsuf Husain. L'Inde Mystique. Paris, 1929.

Arabic.

Berūnī. Āthārul Bāqiyah ʿanil qurūnil Khāliyah. Edited by Edward Sachau. Leipziq. 1878.

Berūnī. Fi tahqiq ma lil Hind, edited by Edward Saxhau. London. 1887.

The Qur'ān.

Muʿjamul Matbūʿātil ʿArabiyya edited by J.E.Sarkis. Cairo,1930.

'Abdullah Muḥammad bin 'Omar Almakki also called Ḥāji-uddin Dabīr. Zafarul wālih li Muzaffar wa Ālihi, edited by

E.Denison Ross in 3 volumes, as Arabic history of Gujrat. London. 1921-28.

Ibne 'Arab Shāh, Shihābuddin Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. 'Ajā'ibul Maqdūr fi Akhbār-i-Timūr. Cairo.

Jārullah Zamakhshari. Tafsīr-i-Kashshāf. Calcutta. vol.I.

Khāzin Baghdādī. Lubābut tanzīl. Cairo. vol.I.

Jalāluddīn Siyūṭī. Tafsīr-i-Durri-Manthūr. Cairo Edn. Vol.II.

Urdu.

Muḥammad Ḥusain Āzād. Darbār-i-Akbari. Lahore. 1939.

Muḥammad Ḥusain Āzād. Nigāristan-i-Fārs. Lahore. 1922.

Abu Ẓafar Nadvi. Tārīkh-i-Sindh. A'ẓamgarh. 1947.

Abul Hasanāt Nadvi. Hindustān ki qadīmī Islamī Darsgahen. Amritsar. 1920.

Periodicals.

Journal of Indian History, 1930, p.300-330.

Journal of the Panjab Historical Society, vol.I. p.31.

J.R.A.S. 1896, p.109.

J.R.A.S. 1903, p.115.

J.R.A.S. 1913, p.115.

J.R.A.S. 1924 pp.591-608.

Calcutta Review, 1924, pp.445-460.

Indian Historical Quarterly, 1933, p.630.

The Urdu quarterly, July, 1950.

Annual Report, R.A.S. Eastern Circle, Calcutta, 1907-08, p. 25,27.

The Tulū-'i-Islām, monthly. Karachi. March and May, 1954.

The Nigār, monthly. Lucknow. April, August and December,1954. Genesis of Din-i-Ilahi.

Reference Books.

Encyclopaedia of Islam.

Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.
Encyclopaedia Britannica.
Dictionaire Encyclopaedique de Bibliographie Arabe

Catalogues of Libraries pertaining to Persian manuscripts.

Imperial Gazetteers of India.

Tarikh-i-Elahi by V.S. Bendrey. Poona. 1933. The author is an astronomer who has prepared tables showing the first date of every month of Elahi Era as corresponding to date and month of Christian year. very useful for ready reference.

Muhammadan Dynasties by Lanepool. Paris. 1925.

Comparative Tables of Hijri and Christian dates compiled by A.M.Khalidi. Delhi. 1939.

Dictionary of Islam by Hughes.

Farhang-i-Jughrafiyai Iran - Tehran. 1330 Hijri Shamsi.

Some more books and periodicals consulted.

1. Abul Qāsim Rafīq Dilāwri - A'imma-i-Talbīs ya Ghāratgarān-i-Imān. Lahore 1937 (Urdu).
(Abul Faḍl is reckoned as one of those who robbed the people of their faith.)

2. Chūdī Rām Ḥalīm. Shahinshah Akbar aur Hindu Dharam. Lahore. (Urdu).

3. Muhammad Ikrām. Rud-i-Kauthar. Karachi IInd Edn. (Urdu). A survey of Muslim Renaissance in India.

4. Wāhid Qureshi, A. - Inshā Literature in Persian - A critical study. Ms. in the Panjab University Library.

5. Hearnshaw, F.J.C. Science of History - an article in 'An outline of Modern knowledge', pp. 773-812. London, 1934.

6. Hussain 'Ali Bilgrāmi - Swanih-Akbari, a Ms. in Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Library, Bankipur. The history ends with the year 987 A.H. It contains very little information about Abul Fadl, because it deals with the events of only five years after Abul Fadl's entry in the Court of Akbar in 982 A.H.

7. Abdul Ghani, Muhammad, History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughals Court, Vol. III., Allahabad.

8. Wach, Goachim, Types of Religion experiences. Chicago.

9. Bashīr Ahmad, Dr. Abul Faḍl and Shaikh Mubārak. (An article in the Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, May, 1952).
